

FROM PROGRESS TO REGRESS: A PILGRIMAGE THROUGH THE FICTIONAL
CONVERSION NARRATIVES OF JOHN BUNYAN AND C.S. LEWIS

A Thesis

by

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ABSTRACT

While imprisoned as a nonconformist Baptist in 1675, John Bunyan “fell suddenly into allegory” as he wrote *The Pilgrim’s Progress*. In 1932, while staying in Belfast, C.S. Lewis wrote *The Pilgrim’s Regress* in a hasty two-week period, shortly after his conversion to Christianity. The novels share similar structure, but make unique arguments about cultural and philosophical issues of their time. In this paper, I present the historical and cartographic context to both allegorical works. Specifically, I explore the significance of *progress* and *regress*.

Our intellectual journey, or progress, will start with an analysis of Bunyan and Lewis’s biographical and personal connection to the fictional narratives. How did their personal life-stories illuminate the fictional conversions of Christian and John? At our second stop, I will analyze the visual evolution of the stories, with specific emphasis on the cartographic portrayals of the authors’ fictive worlds. What can we learn from the design and complexities of the fictive worlds? To conclude, I will examine the rhetorical power of allegorical conversion narratives. How do these stories move readers to action? By the end of our journey you will reach a greater understanding of *progress* and *regress* as a method of both philosophical and physical movement. Specifically, I am interested in three tiers of movement: the authors’ movement toward faith, the characters’ movement in their respective fictive worlds, and the reader’s movement (through the rhetorical power of allegorical conversion narratives).

DEDICATION

To my loving pilgrims, Kelly and Samuel

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ABSTRACT	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	iv
CONTRIBUTORS AND FUNDING SOURCES.....	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF FIGURES.....	vii
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
CHAPTER II: A PERSONAL CONVERSION STORY	16
CHAPTER III: IMAGINATIVELY MAPPING CONVERSION.....	39
CHAPTER IV: AN ALLEGORICAL MOVEMENT TOWARDS CONVERSION.....	69
CHAPTER V: CONCLUSIONS, OR THE END OF OUR PROGRESS.....	103
REFERENCES.....	107

LIST OF FIGURES

	Page
Figure 1: “A Plan of the Road from the City of Destruction to the Celestial City.”....	49
Figure 2: “Mappa Mundi.”.....	55

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In his article “The Vision of John Bunyan,” C.S. Lewis commented:

Many do not believe that either the trumpets “with melodious noise” or the infernal den await us where the road ends. But most, I fancy, have discovered that to be born is to be exposed to delights and miseries greater than imagination could have anticipated; that the choice of ways at any crossroad may be more important than we think; and that short cuts may lead to very nasty places.¹

While imprisoned as a nonconformist Baptist in 1675, John Bunyan “fell suddenly into allegory” as he wrote *The Pilgrim’s Progress*. In 1932, while staying in Belfast, C.S. Lewis wrote *The Pilgrim’s Regress* in a hasty two-week period, shortly after his conversion to Christianity. The novels share similar structure, but make unique arguments about cultural and philosophical issues of their time. In both stories the protagonists, or “pilgrims” encounter a dramatic “choice of ways.” Although fictional, the stories embody the multiple, real-life “cross-road[s]” at which both authors faced significant personal and societal transitions. Bunyan stands at the crossroads, in a predominantly Christian England, looking forward in a society that struggles to consider new, dissenting religious ideas and thought. Lewis travels far and wide through the ideological world looking for “clues” and passing “sign posts” leading to his regression

¹ C.S. Lewis, “The Vision of John Bunyan,” *Selected Literary Essays* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1969), 153.

to Christianity.² Lewis embraces the past and turns from ideologies that seek to discard the ways of an older, “darker” age.³ In this paper, I present the historical and cartographic context to both allegorical works. How did the authors’ real life issues influence the creation of their imaginary or fictive world? Specifically, I explore the significance of *progress* and *regress*.

For Bunyan, the historical inspiration for the term *progress* can be traced to the sixteenth century and Queen Elizabeth’s summer journey, or *royal progress* through the south England countryside. Scholar Jim Ellis describes the extravagant details of one of Queen Elizabeth’s most memorable progresses in his article “Kenilworth, King Arthur, and the Memory of Empire”:

On July 6, 1575, at eight o’clock in the evening, Elizabeth arrived at Kenilworth Castle in Warwickshire. She was met by a Sybil who prophesied years of peace; Hercules, who handed over his club and the keys to the gate; and the Lady of the Lake, who had been hiding since the days of Arthur in the vast, artificial lake that surrounded Kenilworth Castle on three sides, waiting for just this moment to appear. Elizabeth crossed over the lake by way of tiltyard and entered into the castle grounds, where she rode over a bridge lined with gifts from the classical gods. She then retired to her royal apartments, constructed especially for her in a spectacular neo-Gothic addition to the castle, as fireworks exploded over the

² Lewis, *Surprised By Joy: The Shape of My Early Life* (New York: Inspirational Press, 1986), 130.

³ Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (London: Oxford UP, 1954), 4.

lake. Over the eighteen days that followed, Elizabeth would be treated to all manner of spectacle, including masques, folk plays, musicians on the lake, an Italian acrobat, deer hunting, feasts, dancing, and more.⁴

Presumably, Bunyan was aware of Queen Elizabeth's 1564 historical progress through his hometown of Bedfordshire.⁵ Elizabeth employed the tactic "of an English monarch having a portable, peripatetic court [...] in which court space is defined by the monarch's presence rather than by architectural performance via expensive building (palaces, royal stables, and so on)."⁶

In Bunyan's lifetime, however, the progresses of Charles I may have had the most significant influence on *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Despite a "crucial gap in early modern historical and literary research," Charles I reluctantly embraced a "progressing culture during the period 1625 onwards, including the journey to Scotland in 1633 for the coronation of Charles as king, the progress of 1634, and a progress to York in 1640."⁷ Charles progressed with far less eagerness than Elizabeth. He famously made plans to "centralize" his monarchy at Whitehall in London and demonstrated an "inclination to privacy" and "aloofness," that "affected his appearance in the popular

⁴ Jim Ellis, "Kenilworth, King Arthur, and the Memory of Empire," *English Literary Renaissance* 43.1 (2014): 3-29.

⁵ Siobhan Keenan and Ed. Jayne Archer, "Spectator and Spectacle: Royal Entertainments at the Universities in the 1560s," *The Progresses, Pageants, and Entertainments of Queen Elizabeth I* (New York: Oxford UP, 2007), 88.

⁶ Peter Sillitoe, "And afterward to his palace of Westminster, there to solace himself": Rediscovering the Progresses of Charles I," *The Yearbook of English Studies*. Vol. 44, Caroline Literature (2014): 87-102.

⁷ Ibid., 88.

eye.”⁸ As a result, Charles “shied away from the festive celebrations, entries and pageants, with which Elizabeth had courted her subjects.”⁹ Despite this reluctance, Charles enjoyed many of the same progress-luxuries as Elizabeth. In *The Kings Noble Entertainment at York*, Nathaniel Rigby describes how “triumphantly hee [Charles] was entertained with many rich Presents, and how they conducted his Maiesty to his Castle.”¹⁰

The progress tradition continued following the restoration of the monarchy. Upon his return to England, Charles II made a triumphant royal progress from Dover to London and an even more elaborate progress during his coronation.¹¹ Both for Bunyan and his readers, including fellow Puritans, Charles II’s extravagant pilgrimages influenced both the creation and reception of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*. Concerning Charles’s final procession to Whitehall on 22 April 1660, diarist Samuel Pepys commented, “It is impossible to relate the glory of this day...so glorious was the show with gold and silver, that we were not able to look at it, our eyes at last being so much overcome with it.”¹² The coronation progress’s decadence provoked equal fervor as political writer, Roger Coke, exclaimed, “Never were such Pageants, Triumphal Arches, and Sumptuous Feasts seen in the City before...for which the Poor Orphans Money in

⁸ Ibid., 90.

⁹ Ibid., 91.

¹⁰ Ibid., 99.

¹¹ Ronald Knowles, “Introduction.” *The Entertainment of His Most Excellent Majestie Charles II in His Passage through the City of London on His Coronation: A Facsimile* (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 1988), 11.

¹² Ibid., 16.

the Chamber of London must pay the greatest Part.”¹³ In 1662, just two years after these festivities, Bunyan was arrested and imprisoned for nonconformist activity. Charles never progressed again during his reign, but his coronation festivities illuminated the royal culture prior to Bunyan’s 1678 publication of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*.

Bunyan’s protagonist, Christian, goes on a similar, yet spiritual *progress*, minus the royal pomp and luxury. Throughout his life, Bunyan criticized the luxurious life of the rich. In *A Few Sighs from Hell* (1658), Bunyan “lashed out against the wealthy and professional clergy as examples of pride, wantonness, inebriety, and covetousness.¹⁴ According to Bunyan, the wealthy are “most liable to the devils temptations, [and] are most ready to be puffed up with pride, stoutness, cares of this world, in which things they spend most of their time, in lusts, drunkenness, wantonness, idleness, together with other works of the flesh.”¹⁵ In *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, Bunyan allegorizes his disdain for wealth-seeking clergy in an interaction between Christian and Mr. Mony-love. As indicated by his name and aptronym, Mr. Mony-love approves of the “lawful” and “zealous” use of religion to improve economic status.¹⁶ In response, Christian rebukes Mony-love as he claims, “For if it be unlawful to follow Christ for loves, as it is, *Joh. 6*. How much more abominable is it to make of him and religion a stalking horse to get and enjoy the world. Nor do we find any other than Heathens, Hypocrites, Devils and

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Richard L. Greaves, *Glimpses of Glory: John Bunyan and English Dissent* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 2002), 96.

¹⁵ Ibid., 99.

¹⁶ John Bunyan and Ed. Cynthia Wall, *The Pilgrim’s Progress: A Norton Critical Edition* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2009), 81.

Witches that are of this opinion.”¹⁷ To Bunyan, the royal progress symbolizes the self-centered worldly pilgrimage. In contrast, *The Pilgrim’s Progress* promotes the self-sacrificial spiritual *progress* that is Bunyan’s truest form of progress.

For Lewis, *progress* is a multi-faceted term. Like Bunyan, Lewis understood the history of the royal progress and its importance to both the monarchy and the English people. Of particular interest, Lewis’s Queen Orual, in *Till We Have Faces*, shares striking similarities with Queen Elizabeth including her practice of *progressing*. Queen Elizabeth’s father, Henry VIII, and Queen Orual’s father, Trom (King of Glome), were difficult and unloving men. King Trom stabbed his royal priest and offered his own daughter, Prince Istra, as a “Great Offering” to the gods.¹⁸ Additionally, Trom teated Orual poorly and, at one point, tried to kick her and “flung” her out of his presence.¹⁹ Scholar Alison Plowden, in *Elizabeth I*, captures a similar disdain between King Henry VIII and Elizabeth following the birth of Henry’s son:

After the birth of his son, “England’s Treasure”, Henry naturally had less attention to spare for his daughters. They were now little more than potentially useful assets on the international marriage-market; but, although their names occur from time to time in ambassadors’ despatches in connexion with various

¹⁷ Ibid., 82.

¹⁸ C.S. Lewis, *Till We Have Faces: A Novel of Cupid and Psyche* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing, 1956), 55.

¹⁹ Ibid.

rather half-hearted matrimoneial projects, their value was considerably reduced by the King's obstinate insistence on their bastard state.²⁰

Despite troubled relationships with their fathers, both Queen Elizabeth and the fictional Queen Orual rose to power as Queens regent, or Queens in their own right.

Furthermore, both Queens were effective leaders who cared deeply for their subjects.

Queen Orual revised laws and cut them into the stone in the city-center, narrowed and deepened the nearest river to increase barge access, turned the old ford into a new bridge, made cisterns to increase the water supply and reduce thirst during dry years, became wise about stock, and brought in good bulls and rams to improve breeding.²¹

Likewise, as John Hayward reports, Queen Elizabeth demonstrated exceptional social skills, enabling her strong connections with the English people:

If ever any person had either the gift or the style to win the hearts of people, it was this Queen; and if ever she did express the same, it was at that present, in coupling mildness with majesty as she did, and in stately stooping to the meanest sort. All her faculties were in motion, and every motion seemed a well guided action; her eye was set upon one, her ear listened to another, her judgment ran upon a third, to a fourth she addressed her speech; her spirit seemed to be everywhere, and yet so entire in herself, as it seemed to be nowhere else. Some she pitied, some she commended, some she thanked, at other she pleasantly and wittily jested, contemning no person, neglecting no office; and distributing her

²⁰ Alison Plowden, *Elizabeth I* (Sparkford: Sutton Publishing Limited, 2004), 60.

²¹ Lewis, *Till We Have Faces: A Novel of Cupid and Psyche*, 235.

smiles, looks and graces so artificially, that thereupon the people again redoubled the testimonies of their joys; and afterwards, raising everything to the highest strain, filled the ear of all men with immoderate extolling their Prince.²²

Lewis's fictional queen shares Queen Elizabeth's spirit. Furthermore, after numerous years on the throne and in signature Elizabethan style, Queen Orual "resolved to go on a progress and travel in other lands."²³ Although *Till We Have Faces* was published late in Lewis's life and more than 20 years after *The Pilgrim's Regress*, the rich and dynamic portrayal of Orual demonstrates his deep appreciation for the storied history and leaders of the *royal progress*.

On another level, Lewis understood personal *spiritual progress*. In *The Pilgrim's Regress*, John, the protagonist, represents Lewis or "Jack" (the nickname for John), as his friends called him, and the journey mirrors his personal progress from "popular realism to Philosophical Idealism; from Idealism to Pantheism; from Pantheism to Theism; and from Theism to Christianity."²⁴ In the essay "Is Theism Important," Lewis describes the progression of faith through both will and intellect:

I think we must introduce into the discussion a distinction between two senses of the word Faith. This may mean (a) a settled intellectual assent. In that sense faith (or "belief") in God hardly differs from faith in the uniformity of Nature or in the consciousness of other people. This is what I think, has sometimes been called a

²² Plowden, *Elizabeth I*, 175.

²³ Lewis, *Till We Have Faces: A Novel of Cupid and Psyche*, 237.

²⁴ Lewis, *The Pilgrim's Regress: Wade Annotated Edition* (Cambridge: Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2014), 207.

“notional” or “intellectual” or “carnal” faith. It may also mean (b) a trust, or confidence, in the God whose existence is thus assented to. This involves the attitude of the will. It is more like our confidence in a friend. It would be generally agreed that Faith in sense A is not a religious state. The devils who “believe and tremble” have Faith-A. A man who curses or ignores God may have Faith-A. Philosophical arguments for the existence of God are presumably intended to produce Faith-A. No doubt those who construct them are anxious to produce Faith-A because it is a necessary pre-condition of Faith-B, and in that sense their ultimate intention is religious. But their immediate object, the conclusion they attempt to prove, is not.²⁵

Lewis ties the two senses of faith together through the “Numinous or Awful,” which describes the way people “feel awe” that is “not itself awe.”²⁶ Lewis claims, “By faith we believe always what we hope hereafter to see always and perfectly and have already seen imperfectly and by flashes.”²⁷ In a letter to his dear friend Arthur Greeves on Christmas Eve just prior to his Christian conversion, Lewis describes his initial struggles to transcend through the “numinous” from intellectual faith to emotional faith or feeling:

I think the trouble with me is *lack of faith*. I have no *rational* ground for going back on the arguments that convinced me of God’s existence: but the irrational deadweight of my old skeptical habits, and the spirit of this age, and the cares of

²⁵ C.S. Lewis and Ed. Walter Hooper. *God in the Dock: Essays on Theology and Ethics* (Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1970), 172.

²⁶ Ibid., 174.

²⁷ Ibid.

the day, steal away all my lively feeling of the truth, and often when I pray I wonder if I am not posting letters to a non-existent address. Mind you I don't *think* so – the whole of my reasonable mind is convinced: but I often *feel* so.²⁸

Lewis's philosophy of theology is equal parts reason and imagination, which come together in myth. In his essay "Myth Became Fact," Lewis describes myth as "the isthmus which connects the peninsular world of thought with that vast continent we really belong to."²⁹ Myth "is not like truth, abstract; nor is it, like direct experience, bound to the particular."³⁰ *Spiritual progress* requires the traveler to move numinously, as Lewis did, from intellectual belief towards willful response and faith in the power of seen "flashes" and unseen imagination. In *The Pilgrim's Regress*, Lewis takes the reader on John's journey as he moves westward towards an intellectual conversion to the rationality of Christianity and, then eastward, illuminated by a numinous emotional conversion to the "awe" of Christianity.

Lastly, Lewis understood the impact of *social progress* in the modern sense of the term *progressive*. In 1920, twelve years prior to the publication of *The Pilgrim's Regress*, J.B. Bury published *The Idea of Progress: An Inquiry into its Growth and Origin*, which endorsed scientific progress and materialism over the "thralldom" of "the Christian epic."³¹ Interestingly, in the introduction, Charles A. Beard shares Lewis's

²⁸ C.S. Lewis, *They Stand Together: The Letters of C.S. Lewis to Arthur Greeves (1914-1963)* (London: William Collins Sons & Co, 1979), 398.

²⁹ Lewis, *God in the Dock: Essays on Theology and Ethics*, 66.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ J.B. Bury, *The Idea of Progress: An Inquiry into its Growth and Origin* (New York: Dover Publications, 1932), xi.

understanding of “the senses” of intellect and will as he claims; “every idea covers not only an intellectual act, but also a certain direction of the sensibility and of the will.”³² In *The Idea of Progress*, Bury privileges reason and materialism, and looks to “the ultimate designing of the universe...in the substance of human experience called history, always with due reference to the facts in the case.”³³ Bury embraces Darwinism and organic evolution which is “in keeping with a similar procedure in historiography,” which “has been determined and characterized by the same general principle which as underlain the simultaneous development of the study of nature, namely, the *genetic* idea.”³⁴ Bury claims, “The genetic principle, progressive development, general laws, the significance of time, the conception of society as an organic aggregate, the metaphysical theory of history as the self-evolution of spirit---all these ideas show that historical inquiry had been advancing independently on somewhat parallel lines to the sciences of nature.”³⁵ Bury predicts “in the year 2000 A.D. it will be possible to answer many fundamental questions concerning which we can merely guess at present. If there is progress it will be mass progress, measurable in averages and susceptible of graphic presentation.”³⁶

In “Is Progress Possible?” Lewis responds to Bury and other modern claims about progress, refutes the idea of “mass progress,” and predicts a future that both progresses and *regresses*. Lewis defines progress as “movement in a desired direction”

³² Ibid., ix.

³³ Ibid., xii.

³⁴ Ibid., xvii.

³⁵ Ibid., xviii.

³⁶ Ibid., xxv.

in which “not all desire the same thing for our species.”³⁷ As Lewis describes, Professor J.B. S. Haldane’s version of progress in “Possible Worlds” pictures “a future in which Man, foreseeing that Earth would soon be uninhabitable, adapted himself for migration to Venus by drastically modifying his physiology and abandoning justice, pity and happiness.”³⁸ Haldane’s desire is “mere survival.” In contrast, Lewis cares “more how humanity lives than how long.”³⁹ For Lewis, *progress* “means increasing goodness and happiness of individual lives. For the species, as for each man, mere longevity seems to me a contemptible ideal.”⁴⁰ Additionally, Lewis captures the delicate balance of good and evil during the process of scientific advancement:

We shall grow able to cure, and to produce, more diseases—bacterial war, not bombs, might ring down the curtain—to alleviate, and to inflict, more pains, to husband, or to waste the resources of the planet more extensively. We can become either more beneficent or more mischievous. My guess is we shall do both; mending one thing and marring another, re-moving old miseries and producing new ones, safeguarding ourselves here and endangering ourselves there.⁴¹

Similarly, during his radio broadcast talks—delivered during World War II (between 1941 and 1942)—Lewis challenges unreflective progressivism:

³⁷ Lewis, *God in the Dock: Essays on Theology and Ethics*, 311.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 312.

We all want progress. But progress means getting nearer to the place where you want to be. And if you've taken a wrong turning, then to go forward does *not* get you any nearer. If you're on the wrong road, progress means doing an about-turn and walking back to the right road; and in that case the man who turns back soonest is the most progressive man. We've all seen this at our jobs, haven't we?

When I have started a bit of work the wrong way, the sooner I admit this and go back and start over again, the faster I shall get on. There's nothing progressive about being pig-headed and refusing to admit a mistake. And I think if you look at the present state of the world, it's pretty plain that humanity has been making some big mistake. We're on the wrong road. And if that is so, we must go back.

Going *back* is the quickest way *on*.⁴²

In *The Pilgrim's Regress*, Lewis challenges progressive worldviews, referred to by the German word, "zeitgeistheim," or the "habitat of the Spirit of the Ages."⁴³ Along his journey, John encounters occultism, Freudianism, modernism, and idealism before eventually *regressing* to Christianity. As a recent convert, Lewis discouraged readers from the "theory of progress," which treats elements of the past as "mere 'survivals' from some earlier and darker age."⁴⁴ Through his protagonist John, Lewis refutes

⁴² C.S. Lewis, *Broadcast Talks. Reprinted with Some Alterations from Two Series of Broadcast Talks - Right and Wrong ... and What Christians Believe - Given in 1941 and 1942*. (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1942), 29-30.

⁴³ Lewis, *The Pilgrim's Regress*, 39.

⁴⁴ Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama*, 4.

modern progressivism and, instead, is illuminated by “a new way of looking at things” as he *regresses* along his journey.⁴⁵

Furthermore, Lewis strategically selects the word *regress*. First, Lewis employs regress as discouragement from “chronological snobbery,” or “the assumption that whatever has gone out of date is on that account discredited.”⁴⁶ Secondly, Lewis’s story is structured quite differently than Bunyan’s. Bunyan’s protagonist, Christian, progresses towards death and heaven. Whereas Lewis’s protagonist, John, progresses towards conversion and then regresses along the same path with renewed vision as a Christian convert. Lewis’s 1946 essay, “Talking About Bicycles,” encourages the reader to think about regress not as a negative step back, but as a positive and reflective revisiting or “re-enchantment.”⁴⁷ Lewis describes the maturation process by which we think about and experience bicycles, love, and war. In four stages, “the Unenchanted Age, the Enchanted Age, the Disenchanted Age, and the Re-enchanted Age,” we find appreciation for the most important things in life.⁴⁸ Lewis summarizes this process with a simple and easily relatable example of bicycles: “As a little child I was Unenchanted about bicycles. Then, when I first learned to ride, I was Enchanted. By sixteen I was Disenchanted and now I am Re-enchanted.”⁴⁹ Similarly, Lewis describes a mature revisiting of the war experience in which one acknowledges the horrors of war and “how

⁴⁵ Alister E. McGrath, *The Intellectual World of C. S. Lewis* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), 84.

⁴⁶ Lewis, *Surprised By Joy*, 113.

⁴⁷ C.S. Lewis, *Present Concerns: Journalistic Essays* (New York: HarperOne, 2017), 85.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

much of the reality the romantic view left out,” while also acknowledging “heroism is a real thing.”⁵⁰ In *The Pilgrim’s Regress*, John’s fictional movement westward symbolizes Lewis’s four stages of enchantment. As he edges closer to conversion, John regresses towards a spiritually reflective “re-enchantment” with Christianity. John remains in the “Re-enchanted Age” as he progresses eastward.

Please join me on this intellectual progress as we explore these conversion narratives. This journey will start with an analysis of Bunyan and Lewis’s biographical and personal connection to the fictional narratives. How did their personal life-stories illuminate the fictional conversions of Christian and John? At our second stop, I will analyze the visual evolution of the stories, with specific emphasis on the cartographic portrayals of the authors’ fictive worlds. What can we learn from the design and complexities of the fictive worlds? To conclude, I will examine the rhetorical power of allegorical conversion narratives. How do these stories move readers to action? By the end of our journey, I hope you will reach a greater understanding of *progress* and *regress* as a method of both philosophical and physical movement. Specifically, I am interested in three tiers of movement: the authors’ movement toward faith, the characters’ movement in their respective fictive worlds, and the reader’s movement (through the rhetorical power of allegorical conversion narratives).

⁵⁰ Ibid., 87.

CHAPTER II

A PERSONAL CONVERSION STORY

In the afterword to the Wade Center's third edition of *The Pilgrim's Regress*, C.S. Lewis ties "obscurities" in his story to "the autobiographical element in John."⁵¹ However, Lewis warns, "You must not assume that everything in the book is autobiographical. I was attempting to generalize, not to tell people about my own life."⁵² Similarly, in the "Author's Apology" to *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Bunyan describes how he "Fell suddenly into an Allegory / About *their* Journey, and the way to Glory."⁵³ Like Lewis, Bunyan's story is generalized as the "Way and Race of Saints" with the purpose to "make a Travailer of thee" and not to tell his personal spiritual journey.⁵⁴ Despite the announced separation from biography, both authors' life-narratives and personal conversions illuminate the content, style, and presentation of their fictional stories. Bunyan's conversion results from personal and detailed engagement with scriptural doctrine within a primarily Christian, seventeenth-century English worldview. Lewis's conversion results from his emphasis on the Christian "myth," or "narrative story of God," and emerges despite increasingly skeptical modern views of Christianity.

Despite the significant differences in their respective cultures, Bunyan and Lewis shared many of the same dramatic life experiences. Both men lost their mothers at an

⁵¹ Lewis, *The Pilgrim's Regress*, 217.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 5.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 9.

early age. In 1644, Bunyan's mother and sister died within a month of each other.⁵⁵ Bunyan was only fifteen years old. In 1908, when Lewis was just 10 years old, his mother, Florence, passed away. In *Surprised by Joy*, Lewis describes the spiritual impact of his mother's death:

My mother's death was the occasion of what some (but not I) might regard as my first religious experience. When her case was pronounced hopeless I remembered what I had been taught; that prayers offered in faith would be granted. I accordingly set myself to produce by will power a firm belief in my prayers for her recovery would be successful; and as I thought, I achieved it.

When nevertheless she died I shifted my ground and worked myself into a belief that there was to be a miracle. The interesting thing is that my disappointment produced no result beyond itself. The thing hadn't worked, but I was used to things not working, and I thought no more about it.⁵⁶

In a similarly devastating fashion, both men experienced the death of a wife. In 1658, after only ten years of marriage, Bunyan's first wife died. We do not know her first name, but "the first Mrs. Bunyan was a woman whose strength of character, pious faith, and resolution to tame her husband's irreligious ways played a key role in effecting his rather striking religious transformation."⁵⁷ Furthermore, Bunyan suffered painful separation from his second wife, Elizabeth, following his arrest (which subsequently led

⁵⁵ Bunyan, *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners: Edited with an Introduction by W.R. Owens* (Cambridge: Penguin Classics, 2011), viii.

⁵⁶ Lewis, *Surprised By Joy*, 13.

⁵⁷ Greaves, 31.

to their loss of a child). Bunyan was imprisoned for holding a conventicle, or illegal religious meeting, and opposing the *Book of Common Prayer*.⁵⁸ He was originally sentenced to three months, after which he could attain freedom if he would cease preaching and attend services in the Church of England.⁵⁹ Bunyan continued to preach and would remain in prison for twelve years. As a result of his personal burden, Bunyan's family suffered greatly. Bunyan left Elizabeth with his three daughters (one of whom was blind) and his son.⁶⁰ Tragically, Elizabeth, who was pregnant when she heard of Bunyan's arrest, went into premature labor, and lost the baby.⁶¹ While in prison, publishers released Bunyan's *The Holy City* and his spiritual autobiography *Grace Abounding*. Towards the end of his imprisonment, when release seemed unlikely, Bunyan wrote *The Pilgrim's Progress*. At the beginning of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Bunyan allegorizes the very difficult decision to continue preaching and suffer continued separation from family. In the story, Christian begins to run from his from his house, "but his Wife and Children perceiving it, began to cry after him to return: but the Man put his fingers in his Ears, and ran on crying, Life, Life, Eternal Life: so he looked not behind him, but fled toward the middle of the Plain."⁶²

In 1960, Lewis's wife, Joy Davidman, died from metastatic carcinoma, after just four years of marriage. Shortly after her death, Lewis, under the pseudonym N.W. Clerk, published his emotional response to Joy's death in *A Grief Observed*. In the

⁵⁸ Bunyan and Wall, *The Pilgrim's Progress: A Norton Critical Edition*, 452.

⁵⁹ Greaves, 137.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 142.

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 12.

introduction, Davidman's son, Douglas H. Gresham, describes the deep pain of finding love late in life, just to lose it, "For me there would be other loves to find and no doubt in time to lose or be lost by. But for Jack this was the end of so much which life had for so long denied him and then briefly held out to him like a barren promise."⁶³ For Lewis, Joy's absence was "like the sky, spread over everything."⁶⁴ Lewis wrote *The Pilgrim's Regress* well before his wife's untimely death, but it is worthy of examination as both a shared experience and a significant spiritual challenge.

Furthermore, Lewis and Davidman's spiritual relationship is partly symbolic of Christian and Christiana's relationship in Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress: Part II*. Lewis influenced Davidman's conversion to Christianity, although quite differently than the manner in which Christian influenced Christiana. Like Christian, Lewis converted before his wife. However, unlike Bunyan's story, Lewis converted well before he met and eventually married Davidman. Additionally, Christiana and Joy (Davidman) responded to their husband's faith in drastically different ways. Christiana "harden[ed] her heart against all [Christian's] entreaties, and loving perswasions (of her and her Sons) to go with him, yea, there was not any thing that Christian either said to her, or did before her, all the while that his burden did hang on his back, but it returned upon her like a flash of lightning, and rent of Caull of her Heart in sunder."⁶⁵ In contrast, after reading *The Screwtape Letters* in 1945, Davidman described how Lewis's words "stirred

⁶³ C.S. Lewis, *A Grief Observed. The Complete C.S. Lewis Signature Classics* (New York: Harper Collins, 1942), 440.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 445.

⁶⁵ Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 139.

an unused part of my brain to momentary sluggish life.”⁶⁶ This was no small accomplishment for Lewis. Like Christiana, Davidman was a mother to sons. However, Davidman, an award-winning intellectual, poet, and novelist, was not a traditional housewife. At the age of 20, Davidman earned a masters degree in English Literature from Columbia University, where she wrote a 269-page thesis. More notably, Davidman won the 1938 Yale Series of Younger Poets annual award for her book of poems “Letter to a Comrade,” and received the 1939 Russell Loines award, originally awarded to Robert Frost.⁶⁷ Lewis challenged Joy’s atheist perspective and forced her into “developing the proof of it.”⁶⁸ To add more complexity to her conversion, Davidman, an ethnic Jew, felt additional cultural scrutiny towards Christianity. Davidman noted, “The Jew who enters Christianity is always haunted by ghosts. Voices out of his past assure him that he is making a fool of himself, betraying his traditions and his ancestry; he must keep arguing constantly, defending the truth of his new faith against the jeering shadows of his own mind.”⁶⁹ However, Lewis’s work seemed to break through all mental and cultural boundaries. Davidman and her first husband, Bill Gresham, grew increasingly interested in Lewis’s theist perspective and his “clear and vivid statement of Christian principles,” which “served as a standard by which to measure the other religions [they] studied.”⁷⁰ Eventually, Lewis’s *The Pilgrim’s Regress* and his allegorical island taught

⁶⁶ Abigail Santamaria, *Joy: Poet, Seeker, and the Woman Who Captivated C.S. Lewis* (London: SPCK, 2016), 154.

⁶⁷ Ibid., 78 and 85.

⁶⁸ Ibid., 154.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 178.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

her the meaning of “the legend of the Way Out,” or “the land on the other side.”⁷¹ On her deathbed, Davidman turned to a chaplain, proclaimed, “I am at peace with God,” and smiled.⁷²

Furthermore, both Bunyan and Lewis encountered the devastation of combat, but found their overall military experience rewarding. Bunyan quickly transitioned into adulthood following the deaths of his mother and sister in 1644. That same year, he was mustered to serve in the Parliamentary army during the English Civil War.⁷³ In *Grace Abounding to the Chief of Sinners*, Bunyan describes how he narrowly avoided death at the expense of another, less fortunate soul:

This also have I taken notice of with thanksgiving; when I was a soldier, I with others were drawn out to go to such a place to besiege it; but when I was just ready to go, one of the company desired to go in my room, to which, when I had consented, he took my place; and coming to the siege, as he stood sentinel, he was shot into the head with a musket and died.⁷⁴

Due to the ever-present dangers of the civil war, Bunyan was exposed to multiple, influential Christian minds. While stationed in Newport Pagnell, multiple preachers pulled Bunyan into the progressive religious rebellion that would define his life. The Regimental Chaplain, Thomas Ford, preached two sermons on Sunday and one on Thursday. Additionally, Bunyan heard prayers and scriptural readings at the changing of

⁷¹ Ibid., 203.

⁷² Lewis, *A Grief Observed*, 462.

⁷³ Bunyan and Wall, *The Pilgrim's Progress: A Norton Critical Edition*, 451.

⁷⁴ Bunyan, *Grace Abounding*, 9.

the guard ceremony each morning.⁷⁵ Controversial sectarian preacher, Paul Hobson, visited Newport Pagnell and “espoused a number of key principles subsequently embraced by Bunyan.”⁷⁶ Both men reduced the importance of reading the Bible in Hebrew and Greek, and prioritized the need to know Christ.⁷⁷ Bunyan would continue to criticize professional clerical education and promote lay reading of the Bible.

Shortly after arriving at Oxford, Lewis was commissioned into military service with the British Army’s Third Battalion; Somerset Light Infantry during World War I. Lewis fought in the trenches in World War I during the German’s last offensive and was wounded by British friendly fire. In *Surprised by Joy*, Lewis vividly describes his wartime service:

the war – the frights, the cold, the smell of H.E., the horribly smashed men still moving like half-crushed beetles, the sitting or standing corpses, the landscape of sheer earth without a blade of grass, the boots worn day and night till they seem to grow to your feet – all this shows rarely and faintly in memory. It is too cut off from the rest of my experience and often seem to have happened to someone else. It is even in a way unimportant. One imaginative moment seems no to matter more than the realities that followed. It was the first bullet I heard – so far from me that it “whined” like a journalist’s or a peacetime poet’s bullet. At that

⁷⁵ Greaves, 22.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 24.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

moment there was something not exactly like fear, much less like indifference: a little quavering sign that said, “This is War. This is what Homer wrote about.”⁷⁸ Despite these horrors, Lewis admits, “I am surprised that I did not dislike the army more.”⁷⁹ The experience was more bearable than some of his early schooling because “Everyone you met took it for granted that the whole thing was an odious necessity, a ghastly interruption of rational life. And that made all the difference. Straight tribulation is easier to bear than tribulation which advertises itself as pleasure.”⁸⁰ Additionally, Lewis really enjoyed his interactions with people in the military, “There were nasty people in the army; but memory fills those months with pleasant, transitory contact. Every few days one seemed to meet a scholar, an original, a poet, a cherry buffoon, a raconteur, or at the least a man of good will.”⁸¹ Lewis faced the worst of combat, yet was able to find the best in the people. Both men walked away from their war experiences with positive reflections on their contributions. Furthermore, Bunyan and Lewis’s combat encounters influenced their shared understanding of spiritual warfare.

Bunyan and Lewis maintain a common belief in the active nature of the devil to tempt and engage in spiritual warfare. More specifically, both men warn Christians of the devil’s goal to slowly turn hearts from God. In *Grace Abounding*, Bunyan puts himself in the devil’s shoes:

⁷⁸ Lewis, *Surprised By Joy*, 108.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

Though you do, said Satan, I shall be too hard for you, I will cool you insensibly, by degrees, by little and little; what care I, saith he, though I be seven years chilling your heart, if I can do it at last; continual rocking will lull a crying child asleep: I will ply it close, but I will have my end accomplished: though you be burning hot at present, yet if I can pull you from this fire, I shall have you cold before it be long.⁸²

Bunyan first describes the spirit-chilling process in *The Pilgrim's Progress*. In the last few miles of their pilgrimage to the Celestial City, Christian and Hopeful engage in extensive discourse in which Hopeful describes reasons for “back-sliding” from faith:

This I say being hot for Heaven, by virtue only of the sense and fear of the torments of Hell, as their sense of Hell, and the fears of damnation chills and cools, so their desires for Heaven and Salvation cool also. So then it comes to pass, that when their guilt and fear is gone, their desires for Heaven and Happiness die; and they return to their course again.⁸³

In *The Screwtape Letters* (Letter 12), Lewis, like Bunyan, uses the devil's perspective to address the slow separation from God:

You will say that these are very small sins, and doubtless, like all young tempters, you are anxious to be able to report spectacular wickedness. But do remember, the only thing that matters is the extent to which you separate the man from the Enemy. It does not matter how small the sins are provided that their

⁸² Bunyan, *Grace Abounding*, 30.

⁸³ Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 117.

cumulative effect is to edge the man away from the Light and out into the Nothing. Muder is no better than cards if cards can do the trick. Indeed the safest road to Hell is the gradual one – the gentle slope, soft underfoot, without sudden turnings, without milestones, without signposts...⁸⁴

Both men struggled with sin and interpreted these experiences as spiritual warfare between God and the devil. Unlike the temporal experience of physical warfare, spiritual warfare raged throughout the duration of Bunyan and Lewis's lives. Despite the devil's attractive appeal, Lewis and Bunyan (John and Christian) navigate back to the righteous path. Often not by their own strength, both authors are repeatedly pulled towards and directed by God.

God actively pursued and guided both men on their real-life pilgrimages. Throughout *Grace Abounding*, Bunyan shares his experiences with the guiding presence of God. On one occasion, Bunyan describes how God's spirit "fell with power...upon [him]" to reflect on Hebrews 12:25 (*see that ye refuse not him that speaketh*):

This made a strange seizure upon my spirit; it brought light with it, and commanded a silence in my heart of all those tumultuous thoughts that before did use, like masterless hell-hounds...It showed me, also, that Jesus Christ had yet a work of grace and mercy for me...But as to my determining about this strange dispensation, what it was, I know not; whence it came, I know not. I have not yet in twenty years time been able to make a judgement of it. I thought then what

⁸⁴ C.S. Lewis, *The Screwtape Letters*, *The Complete C.S. Lewis Signature Classics* (New York: Harper Collins, 1942), 150.

here I should be loath to speak. But verily that sudden rushing wind was as if an angel had come upone me; but both it and the salutation I will leave until the day of judgment, on this I say, it commanded a great calm to my soul, it persuaded me there might be hope.⁸⁵

God commanded and actively pursued Bunyan throughout his spiritual journey. As a reflection of Bunyan's personal experience, fictional Christian is advised to seek guidance from Jesus in *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Early in Christian's journey, a man named Interpreter shows him a picture of Jesus and proclaims, "The Man whose Picture this is, is the only Man, whom the Lord of the Place whither thou art going, hath Authorized, to be thy Guide in all difficult places thou mayest meet with in the way."⁸⁶

In *Surprised by Joy*, Lewis describes God's guidance as "signposts" along the road.⁸⁷ Lewis claims:

When we are lost in the woods the sight of a signpost is a great matter. He who first sees it cries, "Look!" The whole party gathers round and stares. But when we have found the road and are passing signposts every few miles, we shall not stop and stare. They will encourage us and we shall be grateful to the authority that set them up. But we shall not stop and stare, or not much; not on this road, though their pillars are of silver and their lettering of gold.⁸⁸

⁸⁵ Bunyan, *Grace Abounding*, 44.

⁸⁶ Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 26.

⁸⁷ Lewis, *Surprised By Joy*, 130.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

Describing the final steps of his conversion to Christianity, Lewis claims, “At each step one had less chance ‘to call one’s soul one’s own.’”⁸⁹ Furthermore, Lewis was drawn to something “other” and “outside” of himself, which he calls the “road right out of the self.”⁹⁰ At each step of his conversion, Lewis felt God’s presence increase, and his personal identity decrease. While being pursued on his journey, Lewis ran faster towards his destination.

The fictional characters, John and Christian, allegorize the spiritual pursuit in Bunyan and Lewis’s lives. Almost like deer during a hunt, both characters move with urgency and the ever-present knowledge of their mortality. In contrast, during *royal* progress, the king or queen would dictate the pace and ease of movement of his or her mobile monarchy. As addressed earlier, Queen Elizabeth hunted deer during her famous progress to Kenilworth Castle in 1575.⁹¹ The history of English deer hunting illuminates the depth of royal control. In “Royal and non-royal forests and chases in England and Wales,” scholar John Langton describes the monarchy’s invasive level of resource management:

People could not hunt over their own land in forests, while the king could chase his game, known as “venison” (mainly deer of various kinds and wild boar), anywhere inside forest bounds. Forest inhabitants could not even disturb venison by, for example, hunting vermin (known as “beasts of warren”), or driving deer from crops; and all dogs big enough to chase deer had to have claws removed so

⁸⁹ Ibid., 129.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 121.

⁹¹ Ellis, 4.

that they could not do so. Fences that would impede the free movement of venison could not be erected, and the maintenance of covert or “vert” for its protection and sustenance prevented the clearance of trees and scrub. Land in forests could not be cultivated if that denied venison free access to shelter or forage.⁹²

In *A Treatise of the Lawes of the Forest* (1615), J. Manwood claims, “A Forest is and hath beene always accounted a franchise of such noble and Princely pleasure, that it is not incident unto a subject to have the same, but only unto the Crowne and royall dignitie of a Prince.”⁹³ Lewis and Bunyan symbolically remove the royal constraints placed on the deer-like pilgrims and allow free, yet guided movement. The spiritual forest of conversion is built for the dignity of all, with the ultimate authority coming from God.

Both men served God regardless of spiritual gain, or acceptance into Heaven. Along their spiritual pilgrimages, they value urgent, evangelical work more than any eternal reward. Bunyan and Lewis acknowledged eternity, but did not rest idly in the promise of afterlife. In *Grace Abounding*, Bunyan professes the significance of evangelism in spite of his own personal shortcomings. He proclaims, “If God will but convert one soul by my very last words, I shall not count my life thrown away, nor lost.”⁹⁴ Bunyan chooses to serve good even if it means he will not reach heaven:

⁹² John Langton, “Royal and Non-Royal Forests and Chases in England and Wales,” *Historical Research*. 88.241 (2015): 381.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 382.

⁹⁴ Bunyan, *Grace Abounding*, 82.

'twas my duty to stand to his Word, whether he would ever look upon me or no, or save me at the last: wherefore, thought I, the point being thus, I am for going on, and venturing my eternal state with Christ, whether I have comfort here or no; if God doth not come in, thought I, I will leap off the ladder even blindfold into eternity, sink or swim, come heaven, or come hell; Lord Jesus, if thou wilt catch me, do; if not, I will venture for thy name.⁹⁵

During his conversion to theism, Lewis describes similar and important movement in his thoughts from “centrifugal” to “centripetal,” in which “it matters more that Heaven should exist than that we should ever get there.”⁹⁶ Lewis’s acknowledgement of heaven’s existence signifies his initial movement towards intellectual faith and eventual “numinous” movement towards emotional faith, or spiritual will.

Despite these selfless proclamations, both authors are concerned about their personal salvation and experience deep personal doubt along their journeys. Bunyan experienced multiple layers of doubt. First, Bunyan doubted whether or not he was a member of the God’s elect people, “I began to find my soul to be assaulted with fresh doubts about my future happiness, especially with such as these, whether I was elected; but how if the day of grace should now be past and gone?”⁹⁷ His greatest doubt, embodied in a fit-like experience, led to a near refusal of Christ, which he would later refer to as his unpardonable sin:

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ Lewis, *Surprised By Joy*, 122.

⁹⁷ Bunyan, *Grace Abounding*, 19.

First all my comfort was taken from me, then darkness seized upon me; after which whole floods of blasphemies, both against God, Christ, and the Scriptures, was poured upon my spirit, to my great confusion and astonishment. These blasphemous thoughts were such as also stirred up questions in me against the very being of God, and of his only beloved Son; as whether there were in truth a God or Christ, or no? And whether the holy Scriptures were not rather a fable and cunning story, than the holy and pure Word of God?⁹⁸

Eventually, Bunyan reconciled his doubts regarding “the very being of God” and the scriptures. However, as a result of his seemingly “impardonable” sin, Bunyan doubted whether God would save him. Bunyan found some comfort in Mark 3:28 where Jesus proclaimed, “All manner of sins and blasphemes shall be forgiven unto the sons of men, wherewith soever they shall blaspheme.” However, once again, doubt manifested as Bunyan concluded that this grace was granted only to those “in natural estate” who had not converted yet.⁹⁹ Bunyan felt unworthy of salvation because he had “received light and mercy, but that had both after and also contrary to that so slighted Christ.”¹⁰⁰ To recap Bunyan’s exhausting spiritual struggles, he first doubted whether he was “elected” to convert. He converted and then experienced deep foundational doubts about God and the scriptures. As a result, he considered himself “impardonable” and unworthy of salvation. Throughout the process, Bunyan continued to preach and serve in church leadership.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 27.

⁹⁹ Ibid., 38.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

Lewis experienced doubt in the power of prayer, the exceptionalism of Christianity, and manifested these doubts in deep “hatred” for authority. As a young man from a Christian upbringing, Lewis felt burdened to pray. However, while at Chartres, Lewis’s prayer life became a “burden from which [he] longed with soul and body to escape.”¹⁰¹ Lewis’s “ludicrous burden of false duties in prayer” served as an “unconscious motive for wishing to shuffle off the Christian faith.”¹⁰²

Additionally, Lewis doubted the exceptional nature of the Christian faith. He couldn’t reconcile how Christianity could be different than all other religions, “In the midst of a thousand such religions stood our own, the thousand and first, labeled True. But on what ground could I believe in this exception obviously was in some general sense the same kind of thing as all the rest. Why was it so differently treated? Need I, at any rate, continue to treat it differently?”¹⁰³

More than any manifestation of spiritual doubt, Lewis exhibited a “deep-seated hatred of authority.”¹⁰⁴ His self proclaimed “lawlessness” and “monstrous individualism” led to his aversion to “interference.”¹⁰⁵ Lewis struggled to reconcile this aspect of doubt and turned from Christianity, and the “transcendental Interferer,” towards atheism.

Both Lewis and Bunyan felt the appeal of atheism. Lewis claimed to live as an atheist, but acknowledged his self-serving and contradictory positioning towards God, “I

¹⁰¹ Lewis, *Surprised By Joy*, 33.

¹⁰² Ibid.

¹⁰³ Ibid., 35.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 95.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

was at this time living, like so many Atheists or Antitheists, in a whirl of contradictions. I maintained that God did not exist. I was also very angry with God for not existing. I was equally angry with Him for creating a world.”¹⁰⁶ Bunyan didn’t consider himself (or anyone close to him) an atheist. In fact, you would be hard-pressed to find an atheist in early modern English communities. However, Bunyan recognized the potential “ease” gained by living in the moment, with little regard for sin:

I was much about this time tempted to content myself, by receiving some false opinion; as that there should be no such thing as a day of judgment, that we should not rise again, and that sin was no such grievous thing. The tempter suggesting thus, For if these things should indeed be true, yet to believe otherwise, would yield you ease for the present.¹⁰⁷

For Lewis, atheism served as an escape from authoritative interference. For Bunyan, atheism appealed to his natural desire for temporal ease and comfort. Bunyan ultimately refused atheistic comforts, as indicated by his faithful preaching despite continued imprisonment and separation from family.

While Bunyan and Lewis share striking experiential and theological similarities, their differences and individuality shape their fictional depictions of *progress* and *regress*. Bunyan, for example, is particularly passionate about the priesthood of all believers. Bunyan’s spiritual progress or pilgrimage is open to all classes and types of people, especially lay people. For Bunyan, education, wealth, and class status do not

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 64.

¹⁰⁷ Bunyan, *Grace Abounding*, 41.

inhibit spiritual access or growth. Bunyan himself was the son of an illiterate tinker.¹⁰⁸ He learned to read and write at grammar school, but his education was limited by the English civil war, which began when he was only fourteen years old.¹⁰⁹ Additionally, Bunyan's conversion was "symbolically anti-intellectual."¹¹⁰ Bunyan observed a group of poor women "sitting at a door in the sun, and talking about the things of God...as if joy did make them speak...as if they had found a new world."¹¹¹ The women, and later Bunyan, accessed this new world through individual interaction with the scriptures. Bunyan and Lewis differed in their theological approach to scripture in what can be characterized as "high" and "low" church doctrine.

High-church doctrine, as described by Charles Adderley in his 1893 publication, "High and low church," marries scriptural authority with ecclesiastical leadership and tradition. In this interpretation, "the writings of the early Church Fathers, especially of Augustine's period, assume parallel authority with Scripture."¹¹² Lewis, valued scripture, but professed a more "high-church" ecclesiastical approach. In his *Reflections on the Psalms*, Lewis articulates his complex interpretation of the truth of the Old Testament:

The human qualities of the raw materials show through. Naiveté, error, contradiction, even (as in the cursing Psalms) wickedness are not removed. The

¹⁰⁸ Christopher Hill and Ed. W.R. Owens, "Bunyan's Contemporary Reputation," *John Bunyan and his England: 1628-88* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1990), 6.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 8.

¹¹¹ Bunyan, *Grace Abounding*, 14-15.

¹¹² Charles Adderley, *High and Low Church* (London: Percival, 1893), 23.

total result is not “the Word of God” in the sense that every passage, in itself, gives impeccable science or history. It carries the Word of God; and we (under grace, with attention to tradition and to interpreters wiser than ourselves, and with the use of such intelligence and learning as we may have) receive that word from it not by using it as an encyclopedia or an encyclical but by steeping ourselves in its tone or temper and to learning its overall message.¹¹³

In the same way, Lewis describes the complex “teaching of Our Lord Himself, in which there is no imperfection.”¹¹⁴ He claims that the scriptures are not delivered to us in the “fool-proof, systematic fashion” that we expect.¹¹⁵ Describing the Gospels, Lewis claims:

[Jesus] wrote no book. We have only reported sayings, most of them uttered in answer to questions, shaped in some degree by their context. And when we have collected them all we cannot reduce them to a system. He preaches but He does not lecture. He uses paradox, proverb, exaggeration, parable, irony; even (I mean no irreverence) the “wisecrack”. He utters maxims which, like popular proverbs, if rigorously taken, may seem to contradict one another. His teaching therefore cannot be grasped by the intellect alone, cannot be “got up” as if it were a “subject”. If we try to do that with it, we shall find Him the most elusive of

¹¹³ C.S. Lewis, *Reflections on the Psalms, The Beloved Works of C.S. Lewis* (New York: Inspirational Press, 1955), 188.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 189.

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

teachers. He hardly ever gave a straight answer to a straight question. He will not be, in the way we want, “pinned down.”¹¹⁶

According to Lewis, scripture must be cautiously interpreted with an understanding of the full breadth of spiritual teachings and traditions. In contrast, Bunyan encourages intimate interaction with scripture, regardless of educational background. Bunyan adheres to Low-church doctrine, which “asserts that no visible church on earth can call itself the one true channel of salvation, nor assume to itself alone the true form of worship, the true church government, or the true way of administering the Sacraments.”¹¹⁷ Bishop J.C. Ryle embodied the low-church perspective and claimed, “no church is sound in which the Bible is not the standard of faith and practice.”¹¹⁸ Furthermore, Ryle proclaimed, “the Church is useful as a witness, keeper, and librarian of Holy Scripture.”¹¹⁹ In *Grace Abounding*, Bunyan’s conversion journey moves forward by the power of individual verses of scripture. Early in his faith-life, Bunyan “was...never out of the Bible, either by reading or meditation, still crying out to God, that I might know the truth, and way to heaven and glory.”¹²⁰ Later in his walk, Bunyan was categorized as a “mechanick preacher” from lower social status and a humble educational background.¹²¹ In his self-deprecating manner, Bunyan described his

¹¹⁶ Ibid.

¹¹⁷ Adderley, 24.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

¹²⁰ Bunyan, *Grace Abounding*, 16.

¹²¹ Ibid., xii.

“descent” as “of low and inconsiderable generation.”¹²² Bunyan “preached what [he] felt” and received considerable criticism from more respectable clergy members.¹²³

These high and low differences stem from significant educational differences. Unlike Lewis, Bunyan distanced himself from the study of Greek philosophy. It is most likely that he attended grammar school, but was critical of religious teachers who “nuzzle up [their] people in ignorance with Aristotle, Plato, and the rest of the heathenish Philosophers, and preach little, if anything of Christ rightly.”¹²⁴ Bunyan’s early non-Christian reading of *Bevis of Southampton* influenced his fictive world, but Bunyan was most passionate about his theological education. Bunyan “deprecat[ed] his education,” but he was very well read.¹²⁵ He read a robust amount of theological literature to include: Luther’s commentary on Galatians, a book by Arthur Dent¹²⁶ and Lewis Bayly acquired when he married, and John Dod and Robert Cleaver’s *A Plaine and Familiar Exposition of the Ten Commandments*. Additionally, he read biblical commentaries and was influenced by the sermons of Paul Hobson, William Erbery, Thomas Ford, John Gifford, John Burton, and John Gibbs.¹²⁷

In contrast, Lewis enjoyed a broad secular and religious education. He established an early love of Greek literature and Norse myth while studying with his

¹²² Ibid., 7.

¹²³ Ibid., 70.

¹²⁴ Bunyan, *The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan, Vol. 1: Some Gospel-Truths Opened; A Vindication of Some Gospel-Truths Opened; A Few Sighs from Hell* (London: Oxford UP, 1980), 345.

¹²⁵ Greaves, 105.

¹²⁶ Arthur Dent, *The Plaine Mans Path-way to Heaven* (London: Printed by J. Cottrel, for Samuel Speed, 1601).

¹²⁷ Greaves, 105.

private tutor William Kirkpatrick. Lewis excelled as a student of philosophy and literature at Oxford and “never formally studied theology.”¹²⁸ As a professional scholar, Lewis served as a philosophy and literature tutor in the six years prior to writing *The Pilgrim’s Regress*. In his article “The Vision of John Bunyan,” Lewis alludes to Bunyan’s education and potential imaginative limits:

His high theme had to be brought down and incarnated on the level of an adventure story of the most unsophisticated type – a quest story, with lions, goblins, giants, dungeons and enchantments. But then there is a further descent. This adventure story itself is not left in the world of his romance. Whether by choice or by the fortunate limits of Bunyan’s imagination – probably a bit of both– it is all visualized in terms of the contemporary life that Bunyan knew.¹²⁹

However, Lewis praises Bunyan’s style and attributes it to “a perfect natural ear, a great sensibility for the idiom and cadence of popular speech, a long experience in addressing unlettered audiences, and a freedom from bad models.”¹³⁰ Perhaps, Bunyan’s “natural ear” and “popular speech” were the result of his mechanick spiritual upbringing.

For Lewis, the specific (or denominational) road to Christianity is not as important as belief in the broader Christian story. Lewis championed ecumenism, or what he more famously called “mere Christianity” and minimized denominational

¹²⁸ Robert MacSwain, “Introduction,” *The Cambridge Companion to C.S. Lewis* (New York: Cambridge UP, 2010), 5.

¹²⁹ C.S. Lewis, “The Vision of John Bunyan,” *Selected Literary Essays* (New York: Cambridge UP, 1969), 147.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 150.

disparities. As a young man at Oldie's School in Hedfordshire, Lewis first encountered denominational differences:

There first I became an effective believer. As far as I know, the instrument was the church to which we were taken twice every Sunday. This was high "Anglo-Catholic." On the conscious level I reacted strongly against its peculiarities – was I not an Ulster Protestant, and were not these unfamiliar rituals an essential part of the hated English atmosphere? Unconsciously, I suspect, the candles and incense, the vestments and the hymns sung on our knees, may have had a considerable, and opposite, effect on me. But I do not think they were the important thing. What really mattered was that I here heard the doctrines of Christianity (as distinct from general "uplift") taught by men who obviously believed them.¹³¹

At an early age, Lewis discovered his faith-based non-negotiable; belief in the Christian story. Although Lewis downplays denominational variances, the authors' ecclesiastical and educational differences shape their distinctly inspired fictional pilgrimages.

Bunyan's Christian follows a narrow path to the Celestial City and heaven. Whereas, Lewis, distracted by the intellectual world around him, sends John into a far greater area of philosophical land along his conversion journey.

¹³¹ Lewis, *Surprised By Joy*, 19.

CHAPTER III

IMAGINATIVELY MAPPING CONVERSION

In varying editions of *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *The Pilgrim's Regress*, illustrations and maps bring many of Bunyan and Lewis's theological and philosophical differences to life. In her article "Pilgrim's Regress: Bunyan or Dante?", Marsha Daigle compellingly identifies the contrast between Bunyan and Lewis's fictive worlds. Bunyan's pilgrim, Christian, takes a linear and comparatively simple journey. As Daigle notes, "If a map were drawn of Bunyan's fictive world, it would indicate specific sites that carry allegorical meanings. It is a blank world, so to speak, dotted with allegorical places, but as a whole that world has no particular significance."¹³² Furthermore, Daigle claims, "Aside from Christian's departure from the City of Destruction and his arrival at the Celestial City, there is an arbitrariness to the location of any given town or area along Christian's path."¹³³ Compared to Lewis's world, Bunyan's fictive world, or Christian's environment, is less important to his allegorical purpose. Bunyan primarily focuses on Christian theology in his spiritual journey. Christian represents everyman. Despite multiple challenges from characters such as Envy, Superstition, and Worldly Wisman, Christian perseveres as he progresses to the gates of the Celestial City. Christian shows tremendous spiritual resolve as he asserts, "the danger of going back might be much

¹³² Marsha Daigle, "Pilgrim's Regress: Bunyan or Dante?" *Mittelalter-Rezeption*, V. Goppingen, Germany: Kummerle, (1996), 166.

¹³³ Ibid.

more, then for to go forward.”¹³⁴ He remains resolute, forward-focused, and moves toward God regardless of ecclesiastical or social status. As Daigle captures, Lewis’s geographic world functions as the basis for a greater metaphorical image of truth.¹³⁵

With Daigle’s work as the inspiration for this chapter, I seek to more broadly analyze the imaginative and illustrative evolution of both stories. Often without the approval of the authors, publishers chose illustrations and maps that make certain claims about the written work. As a result of the publication process, the author loses control of the overall packaging of his work and the paratext takes on a life of its own. I hope to unwrap the visual life of both stories with specific emphasis on geography and cartography.

First, I will analyze the ways in which the spirit of imagination increased reader’s demands for visualizations. Next, I will focus on the specific importance of the imaginative maps and the geographical significance of the city and community in Christian life, with specific emphasis on Bunyan’s Celestial City.

As we begin our visual journey, let us encounter the same spirit of imagination that motivated publishers and readers to produce and embrace a visual dimension to these conversion narratives. In the afterword to the third edition of *The Pilgrim’s Regress*, Lewis claims, “For when allegory is at its best, it approaches myth, which must

¹³⁴ Bunyan, *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, 51.

¹³⁵ Ibid., 168.

be grasped with the imagination, not with the intellect.”¹³⁶ With this spirit of imagination, let us look closer at illustrations and maps.

Readers experienced *The Pilgrim’s Progress* and Christian’s journey through illustrations early in the publication process. In “The Role of Illustrations in the Reception of The Pilgrim’s Progress,” Nathalie Collé-Bak identifies Bunyan’s illustrative life as the “third dimension.” Furthermore, Collé-Bak argues, “any study of the evolution of the reception of the work that does not take into account the role played by its rich iconographic tradition is flawed.”¹³⁷ From 1680 onward, illustrators, “like stage directors of plays” brought *The Pilgrim’s Progress* “further to life in the eyes of countless readers.”¹³⁸ In the advertisement included in the fifth London edition, Bunyan’s first publisher Nathaniel Ponder describes the growing demand for visualization:

The Pilgrims Progress having good Acceptation among the People, to the carrying off the Fourth Impression, which hand many Additions, more than any preceding: And the Publisher observing that many persons desired to have it illustrated with Pictures, hath endeavored to gratifie them therein: And besides those that are ordinarily printed to this Fifth Impression, hath provided Thirteen Copper Cutts curiously Engraven for such as desire them.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Lewis, *The Pilgrim’s Regress*, 215.

¹³⁷ Natalie Collé-Bak and Ed. Cynthia Wall, “The Role of Illustrations in the Reception of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*,” *The Pilgrim’s Progress: A Norton Critical Edition* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2009), 83.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid., 84.

Additionally, the illustrations excited Bunyan's readership to exercise their imagination. One nineteenth-century reader, Samuel Bradford, provides his recollection of *The Pilgrim's Progress* in his memoirs *Early Days* (1848-9):

The first book which attracted my particular notice was "The Pilgrim's Progress" with rude woodcuts; it excited my curiosity in an extraordinary degree. There was "Christian knocking at the strait gate", his "fight with Apollyon", his 'passing near the lions', his "escape from Giant Despair", his "perils at Vanity Fair", his arrival in the "land of Beulah", and his final passage to "Eternal Rest"; all these were matters for the exercise of my feeling and imagination.¹⁴⁰

Soon, illustrations took on a life of their own, sometimes separate from "any literary truth about the text."¹⁴¹ As Collé-Bak identifies, the "successive representations of Christian's and Christiana's pilgrimages reflect more the evolution of its readership" than anything else.¹⁴² Furthermore, the illustrative life progressed in two steps.¹⁴³ The images "started out as physical auxiliaries to the allegory," but "gradually grew in material and interpretive importance until, by the beginning of the nineteenth century they either invaded the space of the text or pervaded a space of their own, so that they not only carried a separate identity for the narrative but could also tell the story of the pilgrims without Bunyan's text even being present."¹⁴⁴

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., 91.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 95.

¹⁴² Ibid.

¹⁴³ Ibid., 96.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

William Blake's 1824 unfinished illustrations of *The Pilgrim's Progress* provide a perfect example of the separate visionary life of Bunyan's work. Blake completed illustrations for works by Chaucer, Spencer, Shakespeare, Milton, Young and Gray, and most famously *The Book of Job* (1805-25) and Dante's *Divine Comedy* (1824-27).¹⁴⁵ It is less known, however, that in 1794, when Blake was just 37 years old, he designed a "woodcut on pewter, known as 'Sweeping the Interpreter's House'" inspired by *The Pilgrim's Progress*.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, "while he was finishing his work on Job and before addressing Dante, Blake prepared a series of twenty-nine drawings illustrating John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* (now in the Frick Collection in New York). Because the work is unfinished, it is unclear how Blake intended to use the illustrations.¹⁴⁷ Although the work went unpublished until 1941 (more than one hundred years after their creation), it demonstrates Bunyan's esteemed place in literary history and symbolizes the creative and inspirational evolution of the *The Pilgrim's Progress*. As Collé-Bak notes, the "fact that [the images] were apparently not meant for any specific book or edition seems to confirm the deliberate story-telling aspect of Blake's enterprise," separate from the source text.¹⁴⁸

Blake's interest in Bunyan is somewhat surprising based on theological differences. As Gerda S. Novig notes in "Dark Figures in the Desired Country: Blake's Illustrations to *The Pilgrim's Progress*", Blake's religious beliefs are far less identifiable

¹⁴⁵ Nathalie Collé-Bak, "Spiritual Transfers: William Blake's Iconographic Treatment of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*," *Bunyan Studies Vol. 16* (2012), 32.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., 39.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., 32.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., 45.

than Bunyan's views; "Bunyan was a Calvinist Baptist, and Blake grew up among Nonconformists of unrecorded denomination...Blake owned to no dogma or revelation other than those of his own insight, his own realization."¹⁴⁹ Similarly, George Wingfield Digby argues that "the whole intent of Blake's art is spiritual, if we understand rightly what that means. Blake's spiritual effort was not concerned with the propagation of any particular Faith or dogma, nor with the effort to approximate life and conduct to any a priori pattern, ideal, or moral code. His efforts were devoted to finding Truth, or reality, in the experience and understanding of life, which involves the whole man in the crucible of life experience."¹⁵⁰ In contrast, Bunyan's conversion narrative both inspires and instructs readers to follow an exclusively Christian life-path.

Additionally, In *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, Blake breaks from standard Christian doctrine (followed by Bunyan and Lewis) as he presents a blending of good and evil. Blake connects physical and material desires to God, "The soul of sweet delight can never be defiled."¹⁵¹ Furthermore, Blake challenges the reader's views about sin as he writes:

The pride of the peacock is the glory of God.

The lust of the goat is the bounty of God.

The wrath of the lion is the wisdom of God.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., 42.

¹⁵⁰ Ibid.

¹⁵¹ William Blake, "The Marriage Of Heaven And Hell," *Collected Classic Poems, Abercrombie To Clough*, 9.

The nakedness of woman is the work of God.¹⁵²

Blake's argument for the "marriage" of good and evil prompted Lewis's counterargument in *The Great Divorce*. In the preface, Lewis responds to Blake's "disastrous error," or assertion that "reality never presents us with an absolutely unavoidable 'either or.'" ¹⁵³ Like Lewis, Bunyan clearly identified sinful desires as evil and struggled with the prospect of damnation in a real hell.

Despite differences in theology, Blake's interest in Bunyan spurred from his greater interest in transforming allegory (or fable) into vision (or imagination).¹⁵⁴ In *A Vision of the Last Judgment*, Blake specifically mentions Bunyan as he delineates allegory and vision:

The Last Judgment is not Fable or Allegory but Vision. Fable or Allegory are a totally distinct & inferior kind of Poetry. Vision, or Imagination, is a Representation of what Eternally Exists, Really & Unchangeably. Fable or Allegory is Formd by the daughters of Memory. Imagination is Surrounded by the daughters of Inspiration, who in the aggregate are calld Jerusalem. Fable is Allegory, but what Critics call The Fable is Vision itself. The Hebrew Bible & the Gospel of Jesus are not Allegory, but Eternal Vision, or Imagination of All that Exists. Note here that Fable or Allegory is Seldom without some Vision.

Pilgrim's Progress is full of it, the Greek Poets the same: but Allegory & Vision

¹⁵² Ibid., 8.

¹⁵³ C.S. Lewis, *The Great Divorce* (New York: Harper Collins, 1946), vii.

¹⁵⁴ Collé-Bak, "Spiritual Transfers: William Blake's Iconographic Treatment of John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*," *Bunyan Studies Vol. 16* (2012), 38.

ought to be know as Two Distinct Things, & so calld for the Sake of Eternal Life.”¹⁵⁵

Bunyan’s literary vision captivated Blake. However, Blake intended to create a vision separate from the text or any previous *Pilgrim’s Progress* illustrations. In a study of the iconographic tradition of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, G.E. Bentley, Jr. notes Blake’s faithful portrayal of “the spirit, and even the minutiae, of Bunyan’s book,” while also acknowledging significant additions to Bunyan’s story.¹⁵⁶ Bunyan editions normally include fourteen standard illustrations.¹⁵⁷ As a result of his “natural playfulness” and his desire to critique the “limited hermeneutical vision of his predecessors,” Blake includes twice the number of illustrations.¹⁵⁸ Beyond sheer number, Blake’s images build or *progress* in unique ways, increasing their collective “narrative potential.”¹⁵⁹ Blake’s images “surpass his predecessors” in that he “unites them—and, consequently, the whole series.”¹⁶⁰ Blake “exploits and alternates the portrait/landscape format of the page, then he organizes the image in pairs or groups of three relating to the same stage in the progress, creating echoes between them all.”¹⁶¹ The echoes “appear from one plate to another in the characters’ actions, stances, gestures and clothing; in the settings in which the scene takes place; in the architectural and topographical elements picture to represent these scenes; in the vegetation and surrounding landscape; and in the various elements

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., 40.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., 44.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 45.

¹⁶⁰ Ibid.

¹⁶¹ Ibid.

made to occupy the sky—the sun, the clouds, and the various colours and shades in which they are drawn.”¹⁶² Blake’s illustrations move independently of the source text, perhaps like no other visionary depiction of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*. I agree with Gerda Norvig conclusion that Blake’s “Bunyan series not only illustrates but is a narrative *progress* in which the act of pilgrimage belongs to the eye and mind of the viewer.”¹⁶³ William Blake’s almost unpublished illustrative work confirms the interpretive importance of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*.

Readers are far more familiar with the published illustrative works that accompanied the source text. The earliest editions of *The Pilgrim’s Progress* included woodcuts from a few scenes and a “frontispieces displaying Bunyan resting his head on his hand, the ‘gaol’ below him, the pilgrim figures trailing though the imagined landscape.”¹⁶⁴ The sixth edition, published by Nathaniel Ponder in 1681, included thirteen copper cuts.¹⁶⁵ The twenty-second edition, published in 1728, included twenty-two engravings from the “well-known engraver John Sturt (1658-1730).”¹⁶⁶ Furthermore, publishers printed multiple editions of chapbooks, or “simplified, largely graphic, and inexpensive versions” of *The Pilgrim’s Progress* for less literate readers with illustrative woodcuts that “give us a rather crude but definitely action-packed take

¹⁶² Ibid.

¹⁶³ Ibid., 46.

¹⁶⁴ Wall, “Geographies and Illustrations,” *The Pilgrim’s Progress: A Norton Critical Edition*, 271.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

on some of the most exciting scenes in the work.”¹⁶⁷ As a result of this illustrative evolution, by 1830, *The Pilgrim’s Progress* entered the English literary canon, owing its success to both the “brilliance of Bunyan” and the “illustrations’ prominent role in sustaining the text’s popularity and helping advance its interpretation.”¹⁶⁸

As we continue our visual journey, let us now consider the interpretive contribution of imaginative maps (cartography). In his 1947 essay, “On Stories”, Lewis describes the interpretive tension between plot and theme: “In real life, as in a story, something must happen. That is just the trouble. We grasp at a state and find only a succession of events in which the state is never quite embodied.”¹⁶⁹ Imaginative maps attempt to solve this problem by visually “embodying” the story in the fullest “state” possible. Furthermore, the imaginative cartography of both works connects the viewer’s spatial senses with the authors’ philosophical senses. This critical intersection, where the fictional textual world meets imaginative cartographic representations, elevates the viewers understanding of the source text in ways that no set of scene illustrations can achieve. One of the most significant maps visualizing *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, “A Plan of the Road from the City of Destruction to the Celestial City” (Figure 1) illustrates Christian’s geographical journey and “is modeled of the ‘itinerary’ map which became

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Nathalie Collé-Bak, “The Role of Illustrations in the Reception of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*,” 97.

¹⁶⁹ C.S. Lewis, “On Stories”, *Of Other Worlds*, ed. Walter Hooper (New York: HarperOne, 1986), 29-30.

popular with John Ogilby's *Britannia* (1676), a series of strip maps for travellers."¹⁷⁰

This illustration was published in the early 1780s edition of Bunyan's *The Whole Works* (abbreviated title). The illustrator, identified as T. Conder in the bottom left corner, is the map engraver and London bookseller, Thomas Conder (1747-1831).¹⁷¹ Conder depicts Christian's journey from the City of Destruction through the Valley of Humiliation, the Valley of the Shadow of Death, Vanity Fair, Doubting Castle, the Delectable Mountains, the Country of Conceit, across the River of Death, to the Celestial City. For both *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *The Pilgrim's Regress*, the imaginative maps maintain a privileged position among all other interpretive illustrations. By viewing the maps, readers *progress* forward in uniquely unmatched ways as they visually uncover Bunyan and Lewis's deeper philosophical worlds. Before diving further into Bunyan and Lewis's maps, permit me to *regress* and present the origins of similar ideological maps. The cartographic origins of ideological maps can be traced back to the medieval "mappa mundi," or world map, and the "curious diagrams known as T-O maps."¹⁷² The mappa mundi "retained vestiges of the geographical knowledge attained in classical times", but the "T-O maps were based entirely on information taken from the Bible, as befitted an audience that, for the most part, rejected science in favor of spiritual progress through a literal interpretation of the word of God."¹⁷³ The T-O diagrams were created by church

¹⁷⁰ Wall, 272.

¹⁷¹ Thomas Conder, "1794 Wilkinson Map of Europe," accessed at <http://www.geographicus.com/P/AntiqueMap/Europe-wilkinson-1794>

¹⁷² Anne Armitage and Laura Beresford, *Mapping the New World: Renaissance Maps from the American Museum in Britain* (London: Scala Arts & Heritage Publishers, 2013), 13.

¹⁷³ Ibid.

fathers, like Isidore of Seville, who wrote *Etymologiae* between 622 and 633 CE.¹⁷⁴ This spiritual map captures key locations in biblical history: “The ‘O’ of the diagram represents the ‘Ocean Stream’ that surrounds the earth, the horizontal bar of the ‘T’ is the meridian along the rivers Don and Nile, and the vertical of the ‘T’ is the Mediterranean Sea.”¹⁷⁵ To modern readers, “medieval maps appear skewed sideways” with “east at the top, towards Paradise, with Jerusalem usually at the centre...in accordance with Ezekiel 5:5: ‘This is Jerusalem: I have set it in the midst of the nations and countries that are round about her.’”¹⁷⁶ As Anne Armitage and Laura Beresford note in *Mapping the New World: Renaissance Maps from The American Museum in Britain*, “In the Middle Ages, a mappa mundi was a kind of graphic encyclopedia of established beliefs about the world, a ragbag of Biblical history and superstitious beliefs based on travellers’ tales from what survived from respected classical authors such as Herodotus (5th century BCE) or notoriously, from one of the Latin world’s great teller of tall tales, Gaius Julius Solinus (fl. 250 CE).”¹⁷⁷ These ideological maps serve more to establish traditional worldviews than to direct individual movement in any particular direction.

Building on this tradition, C.S. Lewis’s text and imaginative map in the first edition of *The Pilgrim’s Regress* invoke the ideological elements of the mappa mundi, while also encouraging travelers to move specific directions. As Marsha Daigle highlights, east represents truth and the nineteen shires in Lewis’s world represent “a

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., 14.

philosophical system that is, in some way, a departure, from absolute truth, and the degree of error or truth in any given system is indicated by that shire's relative proximity to east."¹⁷⁸ Furthermore, Daigle identifies how Lewis distinguishes north from south by a main road in order to separate two modes of thought. Lewis describes the directional difference in the afterward:

Northerners are the men of rigid systems, whether skeptical or dogmatic Aristocrats, Stoics, Pharisees, Rigorists, signed and sealed members of highly organized "Parties". Southerners are...less definable; boneless souls whose doors stand open day and night...with the readiest welcome for those...who offer some sort of intoxication.¹⁷⁹

Furthermore, the two military railways symbolize "the double attack from Hell on the two sides of our nature," mentioned above.¹⁸⁰ This map, like those previously mentioned, makes a similar, yet separate argument from the text about the philosophical world of *The Pilgrim's Regress*. Readers are encouraged to move west towards conversion, while at the same time staying as close to the main road as possible. However, the manner in which they arrive is less fixed than in *The Pilgrim's Progress*. As the map indicates, the possibilities for movement in Lewis's world are endless and, like his personal conversion, movement westward can take many different routes. In the preface to the third edition, Lewis cautions readers about the function of the map, "The map on the end leaves has puzzled some readers because, as they say, 'it marks all sorts

¹⁷⁸ Daigle, 168.

¹⁷⁹ Lewis, *The Pilgrim's Regress*, 214.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 216.

of places not mentioned in the text.’ But so do all maps in travel books. John’s route is marked with a dotted line: those who are not interested in the places off that route need not bother about them. They are a half whimsical attempt to fill in the ‘Northern’ and ‘Southern’ halves of the world with the spiritual phenomena appropriate to them.”¹⁸¹

Despite Lewis’s warning to readers, there is strong evidence that Lewis collaborated with the illustrator. First, Lewis developed an interest in cartography at an early age. In *Surprised By Joy*, Lewis describes how he and his brother built a fictional history in *Animal-Land* with multiple imaginative maps:

From history it was only a step to geography. There was soon a map of Animal-Land-several maps, all tolerably consistent. Then Animal-Land had to be geographically related to my brother’s India, and India consequently lifted out of its place in the real world. We made it an island with its north coast running along the back of the Himilayas; between it and Animal-Land my brother rapidly invented the principal steamship routes. Soon there was a whole world and a map which we regarded as our own-Animal-Land and India-were increasingly peopled with consistent character.¹⁸²

As indicated by this early interest in the imaginary worlds of Animal-Land and later, Narnia, Lewis meticulously managed the architecture of his fictive worlds. Therefore, it is reasonable to assert that he would have been just as interested and active in the creation of the map for *The Pilgrim’s Regress*.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., 218.

¹⁸² Lewis, *Surprised By Joy*, 9.

Furthermore, the map depicts John's movement with precise accuracy. When I revisited Lewis's story with the aid of Knowles's map, I traced John's travels through the shires of Lewis's imaginary world and gained an increased understanding of textual details and Lewis's overall purpose. With the help of the map (Figure 2), I encourage you to follow John as he moves along the dotted line from Puritania (Lewis's original belief in Christianity at a young age) to the far west lands across the Grand Canyon. First, John moves south to "thrill," where he experiences sweet desire. Next, John departs from Mr. Enlightenment and moves north towards Eschropolis, or "the city of filth and obscenity" where Mr. Halfway resides. After turning from eroticism, John moves north through the shire of Zeitgeistheim, where he encounters multiple figures from the "Spirit of the Age," including his dangerous battle with the Giant. Next, John journeys with Reason, but soon finds great fault with Reason's sense of direction as he confesses, "I do not know where you are leading me."¹⁸³ John leaves Reason and, after rediscovering the main road, meets Vertue just prior to the Grand Canyon. Not long after, both John and Vertue meet Mr. Sensible, who "embodies learning without wisdom," and his servant Drudge.¹⁸⁴ As they continue north in search of a suitable place to cross the canyon, they meet Three Pale Men; the Christian legalist Mr. Neo-Angular, and the classically educated atheists Mr. Neo-Classical and Mr. Humanist. If you

¹⁸³ Lewis, *The Pilgrim's Regress*, 66.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, 77.

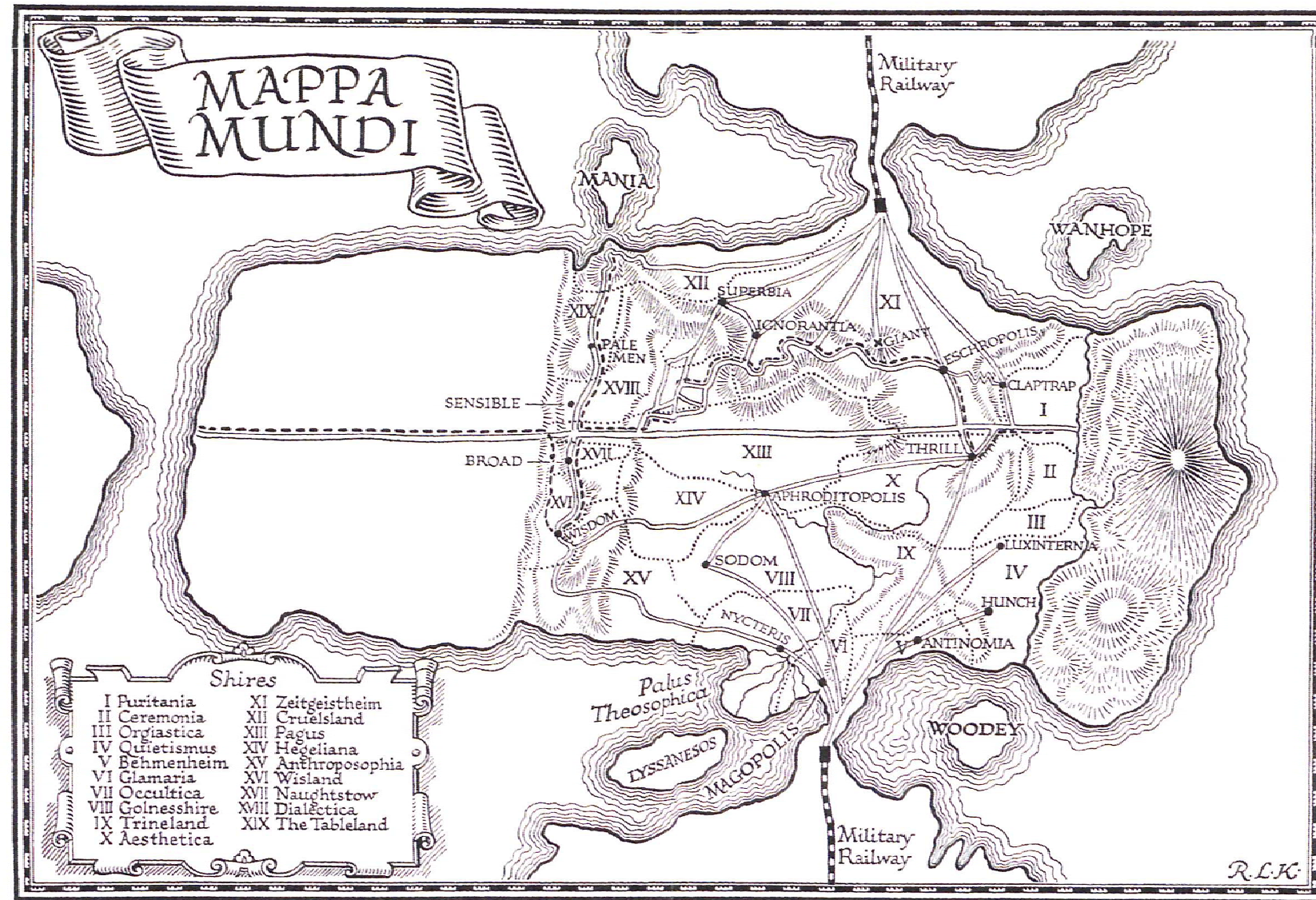


Figure 2: "Mappa Mundi." Reprinted from the Wade Center annotated edition of *The Pilgrim's Regress* by permission of Eerdmans publishing; all rights reserved.

continue north along the dotted line, John and Vertue encounter the Marxist and Fascist “Fool’s Paradise” of the imposing Mr. Savage (located just south of the island of Mania).¹⁸⁵ John nearly decides to stay with Savage, but John and Vertue change course and turn southward. Next, both men meet Mr. Broad who disregards theology in pursuit of “the language of the heart” and “those things which draw us together.”¹⁸⁶ Mr. Broad brings John and Vertue to his close friend Mr. Wisdom and The House of Wisdom, which is home to idealism. This philosophy “does not satisfy” John’s desire either and they keep moving.¹⁸⁷ John’s conversion takes shape as he moves from pantheism to theism after meeting “A Man,” or Lewis’s representation of Christ, and Father History, who convincingly presents John with the historical “myth” of Christianity. Not long after, with the encouragement of Vertue, John takes “a header into the pool” of the Canyon and converts to Christianity.¹⁸⁸ After dramatically changing his life’s course, John regresses back along the “long straight” and narrow main road with a Christian perspective in which he is advised, “the country will look very different on the return journey.”¹⁸⁹ Upon his return, or movement east, John notices that some characters have all but disappeared (Mr. Sensible). Furthermore, Lewis renames some locations based on their associations with sin: Limbo, The Black Hole (hell), Superbia (pride), Ignorantia, and Luxuria. Finally, angels sing as John and Vertue approach the brook, or symbolic boundary between earth and heaven (home of the

¹⁸⁵ Ibid., 107.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 117.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid., 128.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 174.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 177.

Landlord).¹⁹⁰ Looking at the map, we see a drawing of the sun east of the brook as an illustrative representation of God as light. This “Mappa Mundi” is an elaborate and detailed aid that clarifies some of the story’s more obscure moments. Most importantly, the map engages our imagination and paints the full ideological picture of Lewis’s complicated philosophical world. Additionally, the detailed map is a product of collaborative work between Lewis and the illustrator in which I hope to research further.

Surprisingly, the illustrator of this fascinating map is not acknowledged by his full name in any of the editions of *The Pilgrim’s Regress*, but simply by the initials “R.L.K” at the bottom right corner of the map. In 1933, Lewis wrote a series of letters to the publisher in which he only refers to the illustrator as “the artist” or “the cartographer.”¹⁹¹ There is strong evidence identifying Reginald Lionel Knowles (1879-1950) as the illustrator. First, and most obvious, the initials match. More convincingly, Knowles was employed as an illustrator by J.M. Dent and Sons publishers at the time *The Pilgrim’s Regress* was first published in 1933.¹⁹² Just prior to 1900, Knowles began working for J.M. Dent where he “was responsible for designing the title-page openings, the endpapers, and the hand-drawn lettering for the titles on the spines for Everyman’s

¹⁹⁰ Ibid., 203.

¹⁹¹ C.S. Lewis, “Publisher Correspondence Binder VI – J.M. Dent,” *C.S. Lewis Letters at The Marion E. Wade Center*, Letters 218-243, listed at http://www.wheaton.edu/~media/Files/Centers-and-Institutes/Wade-Center/RR-Docs/Letter-Collections/CSL_Letters.pdf.

¹⁹² “J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd.,” *Social Networks and Archival Context (SNAC)*, accessed at <http://socialarchive.iath.virginia.edu/ark:/99166/w66d9v5t>.

Library, the first fifty volumes of which were published in February 1906.”¹⁹³

Knowles’s designs were “derived from the work of William Morris and Laurence Housman...were distinctive and successful, and were used for thirty years, until 1935.”¹⁹⁴ Lewis’s *The Pilgrim’s Regress* would have caught Knowles just at the end of his time at J.M. Dent, and before founding his own studio. Knowles’s connection with Lewis seems to be supported by a shared love of William Morris and Norse fairy tales. Knowles illustrated the 1910 edition of George Webbe Dasent’s *Norse Fairy Tales* and, as already mentioned, Lewis had a strong interest and educational background in Norse mythology.

Strangely, David C. Downing’s recent edition (2014) of *The Pilgrim’s Regress* relegates Reginald Knowles’s map to the back of the book, and replaces it with an introductory map, illustrated by Michael Hague, void of most of the most significant and necessary ideological details. Perhaps, Downing made this move in light of Lewis’s own concerns that readers’ may overanalyze the map and miss the main point of the text. Towards the end of Downing’s edition, there is a note simply referencing the map as “Lewis’s original map,” without any reference to the illustrator. Downing’s edition is exceptional, but in this case, it seems he may have undervalued the imaginative genius of the “Mappa Mundi” and the collaborative relationship between Lewis and Knowles.

¹⁹³ Alan Horne, “Knowles, Reginald Lionel (1879-1950), Book Designer and Illustrator,” *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online ed., edited by David Cannadine (Oxford: OUP, 2004). Accessed at <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/69376>.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid.

When viewing the maps of both fictive works (Conder's map and Knowles's map), Lewis's world seems to be far more complex than Bunyan's. In addition to the artistic freedom of the illustrators, I propose that this creative difference is a result of the authors' differing educational backgrounds.¹⁹⁵ Despite differences in imaginative approach and complexity, both authors emphasize community, both in reference to the place (city or shire) and the people, or communion of believers. First, let us look at the place or *city*. When viewing the maps, it is hard not to think about the origin and destination of the respective pilgrimages. In fact, we are trained to read maps that way, and often only view them when there is a need to travel from one location to another. In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, both Christian and Christiana (with children) depart from the City of Destruction and arrive at the Celestial City. Furthermore, In *The Pilgrim's Regress*, John begins his travels in the shire of Puritania and completes the journey as he and Vertue cross the brook into heaven. Their movement is, first, geographical in the sense that the characters must physically move somewhere in order to build the plot. However, the physical movement is symbolic of the spiritual journey from one "city" to another.

Bunyan identifies the scriptural importance of the city and its relationship to the collective Christian Church in the 1665 publication *The Holy City: Or, The New Jerusalem*. According to Bunyan, the church is given the name "city" for four reasons: "To shew us how great and numerous a People will then be in the Church", "To shew us also how plentifully the Nation and Kingdoms of men shall at that day traffick with her,

¹⁹⁵ Covered in detail starting on page 30 in the "A Personal Conversion Story" chapter.

and in her for her goodly Merchandize of Grace and Life”, “To shew us how strong and securely it will keep its Inhabitants at that day,” and to show how she will “have a compleat Conquest and Victory over all her Enemies.”¹⁹⁶ Historically, Christian scripture and tradition emphasize the importance of the *city*, or more specifically, the *two cities*: the earthly society and the heavenly society. In the King James translation of the book of Hebrews, the author describes these two spiritual cities, “Let us go forth therefore unto him without camp, bearing his reproach. For here we have no continuing city, but we seek one to come.”¹⁹⁷ In the second part of *The City of God*, written sometime between 416 and 417, St. Augustine presents the scriptural basis for the two cities:

The city of God we speak of is the same to which testimony is borne by that Scripture, which excels all the writings of all nations by its divine authority, and has brought under its influence all kinds of minds, and this not by a casual intellectual movement, but obviously by an express providential arrangement. For there it is written, “Glorious things are spoken of thee, O city of God” [Psalm 87]. And in another psalm we read, “Great is the Lord, and greatly to be praised in the city of our God, in the mountain of His holiness, increasing the joy of the whole earth” [Psalm 48]. And a little after, in the same psalm, “as we have heard, so have we seen in the city of the Lord of hosts, in the city of our God. God has established it for ever.” And in another, “There is a river the streams

¹⁹⁶ John Bunyan, *The Holy City: Or, The New Jerusalem* (London: Printed by J. Dover, 1665), 16-19. Accessed from *Early English Books Online*.

¹⁹⁷ *KJV Bible*, Hebrews 13: 13-14.

whereof shall make glad the city of our God, the holy place of the tabernacles of the Most High. God is in the midst of her, she shall not be moved” [Psalm 46].

From these and similar testimonies, all of which it were tedious to cite, we have learned that there is a city of God, and its Founder has inspired us with a love which makes us covet its citizenship. To this Founder of the holy city the citizens of the earthly city prefer their own gods, not knowing that He is the God of gods.¹⁹⁸

Augustine identifies both cities, godly and worldly, but more importantly, he captures the struggle to move from the citizenship of the earthly society into the heavenly society. Furthermore, Augustine illuminates the origin of the separation of the two societies (into light and darkness) in his entry entitled, “Of the two different and dissimilar communities of angels, which are not inappropriately signified by the names light and darkness”:

That certain angels sinned, and were thrust down to the lowest parts of this world, where they are, as it were, incarcerated till their final damnation in the day of judgment, the Apostle Peter very plainly declares, when he says that “God spared not the angels that sinned but cast them down to hell, and delivered them into chains of darkness to be reserved unto judgment.” Who, then, can doubt that God, either in foreknowledge or in act, separated between these and the rest?

And who are yet living by faith, hoping only and not yet enjoying equality with

¹⁹⁸ Aurelius Augustinus and Ed. Marcus Dods, *The City of God* (New York: Modern Library, 1993), 345 / Book 11.1.

them, are already called “light” by the apostle: “For ye were sometimes darkness, but now are ye light in the Lord.” But as for these apostate angels, all who understand or believe them to be worse than unbelieving men are well aware that they are called “darkness.” Wherefore, though light and darkness are to be taken in their literal signification in these passages of Genesis in which it is said, “God said, Let there be light, and there was light,” and “God divided the light from the darkness,” yet, for our part, we understand these two societies of angels—the one enjoying God, the other swelling with pride; the one to who it is said, “Praise ye Him, all His angles,” the other whose prince says, “All these things will I give Thee if Thou wilt fall down and worship me;” the one blazing with the holy love of God, the other reeking with the unclean lust of self-advancement.¹⁹⁹

According to Augustine, these two communities, filled with either godly or ungodly, were established by the angels, but are filled with both angels and men, “It is not incongruous and unsuitable to speak of a society composed of angels and men together; so that there are not four cities or societies—two, namely of angels, and as many of men—but rather two in all, one composed of good, the other of the wicked, angels or men indifferently.”²⁰⁰

Similarly, in *The Christians Map of the World* (1637), Edward Sparke describes the scriptural image of the “continuing city.” For Sparke, the city is “the prime part and

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., 377/ Book 10.3.

²⁰⁰ Ibid., 380/ Book 12.1.

Masterpeice of Earths perfection [...] put for the whole glory and happiness thereof,” and “an emblem of Strength, of Unity, of Rest, of Safety.”²⁰¹ As an emblem of strength, Sparke claims the city is “the heart of the body-publick, the seat of most spirit and vigour.”²⁰² When describing this “strong hould,” Sparke references Proverbs 10, “The rich mans wealth is his strong City,” and Psalm 60, “Who will lead me into the strong City?”²⁰³ Next, he claims the city is “a figure of unity” as referenced in Psalm 122, “Jerusalem is a City that is at unity with it selfe.”²⁰⁴ The city is “the proper place of lawes, and government, which are the causes and maintainers of peace, unity and concord.”²⁰⁵ Thirdly, and as a result of its strength, the city is “an emblem of safety” and “Cities of Refuge, Cities where very Delinquents might find safety.”²⁰⁶

Sparke paints a wonderful image of the city, but, like Augustine, claims that man is incapable of creating such a perfect place on earth, “But alas! Wee have no such City, no continuing unity, but rather, continuall discord, witnesse too many unique Families, our clamorous streets, and revenging Hall: indeed, so deepe root hath that envious mans seed taken in the ground of humane hearts that the whole world almost (would I could exempt either Church or State) is become little better than a field of Tares.”²⁰⁷ Whereas the city of God represents eternal rest, man’s life is a busy mess filled with restless

²⁰¹ Edward Sparke, *The Christians Map of the World: Drawne at the Solmne Funerals of M. Henry Chitting Esquire, Chester-Herauld at Armes, Interred January 11, Anno Domini 1637. By Edward Sparke Master in Arts, and Preacher at St. Mary Islington.* (London : Printed by I. Norton for Richard Thrale, 1637), 10.

²⁰² Ibid., 11.

²⁰³ Ibid., 10.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., 12.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., 14.

²⁰⁷ Ibid., 12.

activity. Man “is not Citizen of this [restful state] his life a giddy-wheele; the Orbs, the Clouds, the Windes, the Rivers not so full of motion (his Bodies restlessnesse you saw before) I speake now of the travels of his minde, that busie Spirit hurried through thousands of the worlds distractions.”²⁰⁸ Both Bunyan and Lewis present similar images of the traditional earthly and heavenly *cities*. The protagonist in each story *progresses* towards and ultimately arrives at the eternal city. While Christian, Christiana, and John demonstrate tremendous resolve along their respective journeys, their success is not simply the result of self-determination. They are helped along the way by multiple other characters, because, as previously mentioned, the city of God is also the community of saints.

Therefore, Bunyan and Lewis also represent the *city* as a community of believers and *pilgrims*. Just as the physical city is essential to the geography of pilgrimage, the social community is essential to the spiritual movement towards conversion. In the first part of *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Evangelist and Hopeful help Christian follow the path towards God and represent the community of faith. In the second part, Mercy and Great-heart travel with Christiana and her children. Similarly, Vertue and Mother Kirk assist John and represent the body of faith in *The Pilgrim's Regress*. Church history reveals the need for community among the body of believers. Sometime between 397 and 400 A.D., St. Augustine wrote his conversion narrative, *Confessions*, in which he describes the power of companionship and community:

²⁰⁸ Ibid., 16.

When I am confessing not what I was but what I am now, the benefit lies in this:

I am making this confession not only before you with a secret exaltation and fear and with a secret grief touched by hope, but also in the ears of believing sons of men, sharers in my joy, conjoined with me in mortality, my fellow citizens and pilgrims, some who have gone before, some who follow after, and some who are my companions in this life.²⁰⁹

Augustine conducts his pilgrimage with “sharers in [his] joy” and “fellow citizens and pilgrims” who have gone before, follow after, and some who are “companions in this life.” Throughout *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, Bunyan illuminates the same need for support and encouragement from fellow “citizens”. In the second part of Bunyan’s story, the Interpreter asks Christiana “what it was that at first did move her to betake her self to a Pilgrim’s Life?”²¹⁰ Christiana responds:

First, the loss of my Husband came into my mind, at which I was heartily grieved; but all that was but natural Affection. Then after that, came the Troubles, and Pilgrimage of my Husband into my mind, and also how like a Churl I had carried it to him as to that. So guilt took hold of my mind, and would have drawn me into the Pond; but that opportunely I had a Dream of the well-being of my Husband, and a Letter sent me by the King of that Country where

²⁰⁹ Aurelius Augustinus and Henry Chadwick, *Confessions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 181 / Book 10.6.

²¹⁰ Bunyan, *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, 161.

my Husband dwells, to come to him. The Dream and the Letter together so wrought upon my mind, that they forced me to this way.²¹¹

Christian's conversion and pilgrimage led to his wife's conversion and subsequent journey. Like Augustine describes, Christian had "gone before" Christiana. As a result, Christiana, her children, and her "companion" Mercy convert to Christianity. Similarly, when confronting Christiana at the City of Destruction, Mercy is moved to join the pilgrimage, "If this be true, I will leave my Father and Mother, and the Land of my Nativity, and will, if I may go along with Christiana."²¹² Later in the second part, Mr. Great-heart leads the group (Christiana, her children, and Mercy) through the Valley of Humiliation and proclaims, "You cannot imagine how many are killed here about, and yet men are so foolishly venturous, as to set out lightly on Pilgrimage, and to come without a Guide."²¹³ Pilgrims need other pilgrims in this journey of faith.

In *The Pilgrims Regress*, Mother Kirk and Vertue, fellow citizens of the "Church of Christ," encourage and instruct John at the moment of his conversion. Mother Kirk instructs John, "You must take off your rags...as your friend has done already, and then you must dive into the water."²¹⁴ More specifically, Mother Kirk directs John in the way he must jump:

The art of diving is not to do anything new by simply to cease doing something.

You have only to let yourself go...If you jump, you wil be trying to save

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Ibid., 162.

²¹³ Ibid., 191.

²¹⁴ Lewis, *The Pilgrim's Regress*, 172.

yourself and you may be hurt. As well, you would not go deep enough. You must dive so that you can go right down to the bottom of the pool: for you are not to come up again on this side. There is a tunnel in the cliff, far beneath the surface of the water, and it is through that that you must pass so that you may come up on the far side.²¹⁵

Furthermore, Vertue smiles and tells John, “It is only necessary...to abandon all efforts at self-preservation.”²¹⁶ After receiving godly instruction, John commits to Christianity and dives head first into the water.

One of Lewis’s closest colleagues and fellow *pilgrims*, Charles Williams, shared a similar interest in the imagery of the city. In his poem “Talisessin Through Logres,” Williams focuses on the community of Byzantium and its body of believers, “The organic body sang together, / the Acts of identity adored their Lord; / the song sprang and rang in Bysantium.”²¹⁷ In his essay “The Redeemed City,” Williams describes the social exchange between pilgrims:

The methods of exchange, of carrying burdens and of giving up burdens to be carried; of acting in the strength of others; of making commitments by others; all these may be found to be full of meaning much beyond our ordinary understanding. It is the principle of the priesthood after its kind, and the principle of marriage after its kind. It may be said perhaps of marriage with

²¹⁵ Ibid.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Charles Williams, *The Arthurian Poems of Charles Williams* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1982), 12.

peculiar propriety that its lights of nature and faith are subordinate John Baptists to bring us to Christ the City...In this degree each may say, when the great experiment is done: "Myself I could not save; another I saved and another saved me."²¹⁸

Williams captures the essence of what Lewis and Bunyan reveal in *The Pilgrim's Regress* and *The Pilgrim's Progress*: conversion is a social process, filled with unexpected places, movements, and people. In both stories, characters move from one geographical location to another, symbolizing spiritual movement from non-belief to belief. The illustrations and maps associated with each work engage the reader's imagination and illuminate the source texts in unique and compelling ways. The maps, in particular, best capture the philosophical essence of the stories. Like most non-literary maps, these maps identify paths from one destination to another. Unlike most maps, however, the final destination is located beyond the earthly world. In order to get there, characters receive help and guidance along the way, because as Lewis and Bunyan so clearly depict, *progress* is a social endeavor. Through the texts and subsequent illustrations, Bunyan and Lewis's stories encourage the reader to evaluate his or her own spiritual position and move accordingly.

²¹⁸ Charles Williams and Ed. Anne Ridler, *The Image of the City and Other Essays* (London: Oxford UP, 1970), 107.

CHAPTER IV

AN ALLEGORICAL MOVEMENT TOWARDS CONVERSION

The Pilgrim's Progress and *The Pilgrim's Regress* inspire readers in uniquely literary and spiritual ways. In this chapter, I desire to explore the ways in which writing moves and inspires us. More specifically, I seek to discover how Bunyan and Lewis employ allegory to move readers (including myself) to action. First, readers are moved by the “technology” of allegory, which mediates human interaction and inherently encourages performance. Next, conversion is a process or journey, which requires various, sometimes life-long, spiritual acts. *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *The Pilgrim's Regress* harness the power of allegory and conversion as they encourage the reader to “do something.” *The Pilgrim's Regress* suffers from some “obscurity,” which limits this power, but *The Pilgrim's Progress* employs more simplified religious goals and encourages limitless mediations and actions. Isabel Hofmeyr fully captures the breadth of the Bunyan movement in “Dreams, Documents and Fetishes: African Christian Interpretations of *The Pilgrim's Progress*”:

By the late nineteenth century, copious handfuls of Bunyan confetti had been sprinkled both at home and across the mission empire. In Britain, the book was not only read in every possible way (silently, devotionally, dramatically, as part of household performance, on Sabbath day readings and so on), it was also orbited by a galaxy of commodities, spectacles, heritage and tourist experiences.

Puzzles, playing cards, pageants, portraits and pottery all portrayed scenes from the book and from Bunyan's increasingly biographed life.²¹⁹

Bunyan's story moves physically in the form of playing cards and commodities, but in this chapter, I will focus on the way the story moves readers emotionally, intellectually, and spiritually.

The inspiration for this chapter came from an unexpected, yet pleasant place, Jody Shipka's pedagogical book, *In Toward a Composition Made Whole*. The book captivatingly highlights the way writing and (by association) literature can "move" us. In the book, Shipka describes a pedagogical experience, which inspired students to move beyond conventional classroom boundaries and "do something." Shipka shares a student's brilliant orchestration of "a live, in-class, dance-based performance" in which dancers represented students from an earlier class session.²²⁰ Muffie, the student, later described the project as "effective." More importantly, she claims, "It did something."²²¹ The dance performance provided Muffie and the class an opportunity to "re-mediate" the composition process "by changing [their] tools or the ways [they] share them with others."²²² Students were able to see themselves more clearly through an alternate lens. Muffie's project is powerful because it attends "to the various spaces

²¹⁹ Isabel Hofmeyr, "Dreams, Documents and 'Fetishes': African Christian Interpretations of 'The Pilgrim's Progress,'" *Journal of Religion in Africa* 32.4 (2002), 442.

²²⁰ Jody Shipka, *Toward a Composition Made Whole* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011), 58.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 76.

²²² David Russell and Ed. Mary R. Lea, "Looking Beyond the Interface: Activity Theory and Distributed Learning," *Distributed Learning: Social and Cultural Approaches to Practice* (London: Routledge Press, 2002), 66.

through which students move and learn.”²²³ I acknowledge that Shipka encourages *new* ways of composing with the help of “new media scholarship.”²²⁴ However, Shipka shows equal concern “that we not limit the range of materials or technologies students might take up and alter in compelling ways.”²²⁵ Shipka references *Multimodal Literacy*, authored by Carey Jewitt and Gunther Kress, with specific emphasis on “the importance of curricula that treat all modes, materials, methods, and technologies (both *old* and *new*) ‘as equally significant for meaning and communication.’”²²⁶ Furthermore, Shipka writes, “our frameworks must guard against overly narrow definitions of technology...narrow definitions of technology fail to encourage richly nuanced views of literacy by ignoring the wide variety of technologies—both new and not-so-new—informing the productions, reception, circulation, and valuation of texts.”²²⁷ Jewitt, Kress, and Shipka echo C.S. Lewis’s discouragement from “chronological snobbery,” or “the assumption that whatever has gone out of date is on that account discredited.”²²⁸ Therefore, I seek to describe allegory as “technology,” which is equally as innovative and powerful as new media and dance-based performance.

Allegory is a particularly powerful literary and theatrical mediation tool.

However, allegorical technology is less widely employed and appreciated in modern literature. In “Allegory Plays” (2015), Jody Enders responds to modern criticism of

²²³ Shipka, 49.

²²⁴ *Ibid.*, 83.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*, 84.

²²⁶ *Ibid.*, 85.

²²⁷ *Ibid.*, 40.

²²⁸ Lewis, *Surprised By Joy*, 113.

allegorical theatre as she asserts, “moral allegory no longer plays, and it needs to.”²²⁹ In her effort to revive allegorical drama, Enders claims, “allegory is not exclusively about *reading*,” it is theatrical.²³⁰ As mediation technology, “Allegory is often enacted; and, for better or worse, performance changes everything, as it makes ever-shifting interpretations visible to others at the very moment of interpretation.”²³¹ Additionally, Enders describes the “power of the image (as both ‘mental picture’ and ‘imagination’) to represent any ‘idea which enters the mind from any source and engenders speech.’”²³² In theatrical performances, visual images of actors “personify features of the rhetor’s argument, their presence [marks] the allegorization of thought.”²³³ Additionally, staging decisions help build the mental and physical picture for the audience. In 1912, Emily Rudd describes staging details in the “Notes on Costumes and Scenery” section of her script for a performance of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*.²³⁴ Referencing Part II of the story, Rudd prescribes the costumes for Prudence, Piety, and Charity: “Loose robes to feet, either white with broad hem and girdle of distinguishing colour, or respectively pale blue, pink, and maize colour. Fillet of same colour in hair. Sandals.”²³⁵ In her version of the play, there are five distinct scenes. Rudd provides specific guidance for staging scene two, “The Wicket Gate”:

²²⁹ Jody Enders, “Allegory Plays.” *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 55.2 (2015), 447.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 448.

²³¹ *Ibid.*

²³² *Ibid.*, 450.

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ Emily Rudd, “From Dramatised Scenes from *The Pilgrim’s Progress* (1912),” *The Pilgrim’s Progress: A Critical Norton Edition*, 276.

²³⁵ *Ibid.*, 277.

Towards right of stage, facing audience, two-leaved gate, with bars on upper part. To left of stage, a bench. Across the back of stage, rustic fence, intertwined with green to form a hedge. This fence is hidden by screens or curtains in Scenes III., and IV., and does service again in Scene V., hung with garlands of flowers. As the pilgrims enter, Christiana and her party range themselves to the left, the other pilgrims to the right of the stage.²³⁶

Rudd makes theatrical decisions to disguise the gate as a hedge and to spatially distinguish Christiana's group of pilgrims from other pilgrims. Additionally, her costume decisions assist the audience to visualize character personifications. These "moves" add additional layers of allegorical symbolism to Bunyan's story. Bunyan leaves a lot of visual details unsaid, allowing readers and Rudd to fill the gaps as she brings the scenes to life.

Additionally, the MacDonald family performance of *The Pilgrim's Progress: Part II* moved in especially powerful ways. First, the performance "moved" the MacDonald family as they lived out a real-life pilgrimage. Second, the performance "moved" audiences that were "susceptible to such spiritual art."²³⁷ Finally, and perhaps most relevant to the overall relationship between *The Pilgrim's Progress* and *The Pilgrim's Regress*, the play connected Bunyan with Lewis in interesting ways. The play was produced and performed by George and Louisa MacDonald from 1877 to 1889.²³⁸

²³⁶ Ibid.

²³⁷ Rachel Johnson, "Pilgrim's: The MacDonalds and John Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*." *North Wind: Journal of the George MacDonald Society* 21.(2002), 20.

²³⁸ Ibid., 16.

During the performance years, the family lived a real pilgrimage as they travelled to venues in Scotland, England, and Italy.²³⁹ Like the fictional pilgrimages, the MacDonald's experienced devastating lows and joyful highs. In a letter dated April 1, 1879, a year after the death of their daughter Mary and less than a month after the death of their son Maurice, the eldest daughter, Lilia, writes about performing the play:

You will wonder perhaps, as we did at first, how we can go through it so soon after parting with our Maurice...but we thought we ought to try and are quite glad we did so, it has all come back to us with such force and truthfulness & fresh light as has made the rehearsing of it quite a help on along the difficult path of the real daily pilgrimage.²⁴⁰

The play's allegorical and spiritual power permeated through the performance into reality. The MacDonald performance, while simple, captivated audiences. Louisa "was the driving force behind the production."²⁴¹ Louisa's play closely reflected the spirit of Bunyan's text, required nineteen characters, and "was made up of seven scenes corresponding to the stopping places: Christiana's house, Before the wicket gate, At the door of the House Beautiful, In the House Beautiful, The same a week later, The Valley of Humiliation, and The Land of Beulah."²⁴² Additionally, the costumes represented simple, "puritan-style" dress.²⁴³ Furthermore, the play used minimal scenery, just a

²³⁹ Ibid., 15.

²⁴⁰ Ibid., 19.

²⁴¹ Ibid., 16.

²⁴² Ibid.

²⁴³ Ibid., 19.

wicket gate and paling in scene two.²⁴⁴ The simplicity of the play “added to the overall effect” as summarized by one viewer, Joseph Johnson: “yet all who came and heard and saw the rendering of the old story...went away feeling that no performance could be more unpretentious and reverential. Everything was subordinate to the real meaning of Bunyan’s dream.”²⁴⁵ The *Dictionary of National Biography 1901-11* credits Louisa with influencing the revival of other, old plays, “She adapted for stage presentation a series of scenes from *The Pilgrim’s Progress* in which her husband and children took part and the experiment led the way for later revival of others, of old miracle plays.”²⁴⁶ As Johnson suggests, Louisa’s performance “moved” as it influenced the play culture that now regularly performs the medieval mystery and miracle plays in “most of the cities and regions from which they originated, such as York, Lincoln, Chester and Cornwall.”²⁴⁷

George MacDonald’s participation in the performance connects Bunyan and Lewis in incredibly exciting ways. George’s son, Greville, describes how his father’s part in the play became “part of my father’s mission in the world.”²⁴⁸ As a result of this calling, MacDonald published *Phantastes*, the *Curdie* books, *The Golden Key*, *The Wise Woman*, and *Lilith*. In 1946, Lewis edited and published *George MacDonald: An Anthology*. In the preface, Lewis writes, “I have never concealed the fact that I regarded him [MacDonald] as my master; indeed I have never written a book in which I did not

²⁴⁴ Ibid., 18.

²⁴⁵ Ibid., 19.

²⁴⁶ Ibid.

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

²⁴⁸ Ibid., 21.

quote from him.”²⁴⁹ Furthermore, Lewis admired MacDonald’s personal character and spiritual strength, “I dare not say that he is never in error; but to speak plainly I know hardly any other writer who seems to be closer, or more continually close, to the Spirit of Christ Himself.”²⁵⁰ Finally, MacDonald awoke Lewis to the power of imaginative allegory. His work stayed with Lewis on his spiritual pilgrimage and, once converted, took on a new light:

Now *Phantastes* was romantic enough in all conscience; but there was a difference. Nothing was at that time further from my thoughts than Christianity and I therefore had no notion what this difference really was. I was only aware that if this new world was strange, it was also homely and humble; that if this was a dream, it was a dream in which one at least felt strangely vigilant; that the whole book had about it a sort of cool, morning innocence, and also, quite unmistakably, a certain quality of Death, *good* Death. What it actually did to me was to convert, even to baptize (that was where the Death came in) my imagination. It did nothing to my intellect nor (at that time) to my conscience. Their turn came far later and with the help of many other books and men. But when the process was complete—by which, of course, I mean “when it had really begun”—I found that I saw still with MacDonald and that he had accompanied

²⁴⁹ MacDonald, George and Ed. C.S. Lewis. *George MacDonald: An Anthology* (New York: Harper Collins, 2001), xxxvii.

²⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, xxxiv.

me all the way and that I was now at last ready to hear from him much that he could not have told me at that first meeting.²⁵¹

Inspired by his performance of Bunyan, MacDonald published work that ultimately inspired and imaginatively converted Lewis. Louisa's allegorical play "did something" quite extraordinary. The performance led to equally powerful allegorical prose. Let us consider the ways in which acting and writing illuminate and employ allegory.

In the theatre, actors portray characters in unique and creative ways. In "Acting Lessons" from *Heuretics: The Logic of Invention*, Gregory Ulmer describes the methods by which actors produce "wants" that lead to action. "The Method" comes from avant-garde innovator Konstatin Stanislavski who influenced Lee Strasberg's Actor's Studio and actors such as Marlon Brando, James Dean, Paul Newman, Jack Nicholson, Dustin Hoffman, Al Pacino, Robert De Niro, Robert Duvall, Marilyn Monroe, Julie Harris, Geraldine Page, and Shelly Winters).²⁵² Ulmer describes Stanislavski's system:

The practice began with "table work," in which the actors took over some of the director's analytical function by learning to read the play in a certain way, reorganizing it as a character's Objectives and Actions: a Through-Action or larger goal of the play is identified and then broken down into a series or sequence of specific Aims, Goals, and Problems in each scene (what the

²⁵¹ Ibid., xxxvii.

²⁵² Gregory Ulmer, *Heuretics: The Logic of Invention* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins UP, 1994), 115.

character wants propels the actor to execute an Action, which in turn consists of both physical and psychological elements.²⁵³

Under “The Method,” actors are encouraged to “reconstruct the physical setting of a memory from childhood” or life as they ask “What do I want in this scene?” Like Ulmer, Lewis understood the power of “wantings.”²⁵⁴ In a letter dated 5 November 1954, Lewis writes, “All joy (as distinct from mere pleasure, still more amusement) emphasizes our pilgrim status: always reminds, beckons, awakes desire. Our best havings are wantings.”²⁵⁵ In the same way method actors search for character *wants*, Lewis acknowledges the way in which we all do this on our own life-pilgrimage.

In the theater, these “wantings” shape character portrayals. Theatrical moves in acting, directing, and editing personalize character representations. Additionally, when actors stray from audience expectations (or the script) they create dramatic effect.²⁵⁶ As Jody Enders notes, “the actor’s voice and delivery...produce greater emotional effect when he is speaking in an assumed role (persona) than when he speaks in his own character.”²⁵⁷ To create this persona, allegorical prose requires a slightly different and “intuitive” representational approach. In essence, good allegorical prose “moves” the reader like a dramatic performance.

First, authors use character naming (and the associated social expectations) to guide audiences toward a mental picture. Both Bunyan and Lewis use aptronyms, or

²⁵³ Ibid.

²⁵⁴ Lewis, *The Pilgrim’s Regress*, 1.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Ulmer, 116.

²⁵⁷ Enders, 451.

names “appropriate to a person’s profession or personal characteristics.”²⁵⁸ For example, in *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, Mr. Worldy-Wiseman pursues the “Lusts, Pleasures, and Profits of this World.”²⁵⁹ Mr. Worldy-Wiseman would not be expected to show great spiritual strength. His didactic purpose is determined by his name.

Next, allegory moves because authors often successfully distance the “personal” from the “ideological.” As a result, the narratives are more relatable to a wider audience and appear more objective, or unbiased. One of Ulmer’s writing professors, Richard Hugo, encouraged Ulmer to separate his personal story from his poetry. He claims, “The poem is always in your hometown, but you have a better chance of finding it in another.”²⁶⁰ This gets back to the power of allegory. As Hugo notes, “the key to the craft is to ‘switch your allegiance from the triggering subject to the words.’”²⁶¹ Hugo suggests picking a “substitute town” in order “to make this transference easier...take someone you emotionally trust, a friend or a lover, to a town you like the looks of but know little about, and show your companion around the town in the poem...Be a tour guide, but what the guide says is motivated not by the scene but by the sounds of words.”²⁶² Allegorical prose employs words as a guide for philosophical moves. Authors paint personal experiences with more broad, fictional experiences in an attempt to magnify positions. As Ulmer describes, this move produces a new “mode of

²⁵⁸ "Apronym, n.", *OED Online*, Oxford UP.
<http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.library.tamu.edu/view/Entry/249202?redirectedFrom=apronym>
(accessed March 15, 2017).

²⁵⁹ Bunyan, *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, 30.

²⁶⁰ Ulmer, 118.

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Ibid.

calculation rather than a ‘content’ referring to ‘life.’”²⁶³ The “abstract, manipulable elements” can be readily “harmonized” in order to produce greater impact on the reader.²⁶⁴ Both Bunyan and Lewis “harmonize” real-life events and “calculate” their fictional stories. The spiritual autobiographies of both men are slightly different from the fictional journeys of Christian and John. The real-life stories are far more complicated and messy (as previously noted in the biographical chapter). After reading about Bunyan’s spiritual highs and lows in his autobiography, some scholars even attempt to diagnose him with severe depression. Bunyan’s volatile spiritual journey doesn’t exactly transfer easily, and, as a result, *The Pilgrim’s Progress* reflects a far smoother, fictional pilgrimage. In the afterword to *The Pilgrim’s Regress*, Lewis describes the “needless obscurity” and “uncharitable temper” of his fictional work.²⁶⁵ Lewis acknowledges that “the source of the obscurities” comes from the autobiographical element in John, but warns the reader “you must not assume that everything in the book is autobiographical. I was attempting to generalize, not to tell people about my own life.”²⁶⁶ Not only does Lewis “generalize,” but he also harmonizes his journey by omitting a large portion of personal information (including any reference to an affair with the much older Janie Moore).

As Paul de Man notes in *Allegories of Reading*, these discrepancies between real and fictional events can create a certain amount of tension, “The tension between

²⁶³ Ibid., 128.

²⁶⁴ Ibid.

²⁶⁵ Lewis, *The Pilgrim’s Regress*, 207.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 217.

immediacy and mediation allows the coordination of the experience of nature with that of an individual consciousness that overcomes its alienation by an act of love.”²⁶⁷ In “The Object of Post-Criticism,” Ulmer references Roland Barthes’s description of the importance of the tension of abstraction, “You use a pseudo-linguistics, a metaphorical linguistics: not that grammatical concepts seek out images in order to express themselves, but just the contrary, because those concepts come to constitute allegories, a second language, whose abstraction is diverted to fictive ends.”²⁶⁸

Additionally, de Man describes another form of tension between political and religious elements of allegorical texts as he claims, “The critical rigor of the political texts contrasted with the piety of religious sentiment in the *Profession de foi* always again forces commentators, depending on their temperament and convictions, to daemonize the former or to condescend to the latter.”²⁶⁹ Perhaps, this tendency is the reason why “moral allegory no longer plays.”²⁷⁰ Both Bunyan and Lewis demonize specific worldviews. As a result, it may be difficult for non-religious readers to receive and analyze their work.

One way in which authors try to create more comfortable space for their allegorical claims is through a fictional narrator or spokesperson. Once again, in order to make the words do the work, authors try to distance the “personal” from the

²⁶⁷ Paul de Man, *Allegories of Reading: Figural Language in Rousseau, Nietzsche, Rilke, and Proust* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1979), 191.

²⁶⁸ Gregory Ulmer, “The Object of Post-Criticism,” *The Anti-Aesthetic* / Ed. and with an Introduction by Hal Foster (1983), 109.

²⁶⁹ de Man, 223.

²⁷⁰ Enders, 447.

“ideological.” Paul de Man claims, “The presence of a fictional narrator is... a rhetorical necessity in any discourse that puts the truth or falsehood of its own statement in question.”²⁷¹ Bunyan and Lewis employ fictional narrators to describe their allegorical dreams. Furthermore, Christian and John “do” the work to discern truth and falsehood. Similarly, in “The Object of Post-Criticism,” Ulmer describes how “truth” in literary allegory can get “lost in representation of the idea which it portray[s]” as opposed to montage allegory, which represents the “concrete expression of that idea’s material foundation.”²⁷² In the same article, Ulmer references Walter Benjamin’s suggestion that the new method of montage allegory “became for him the modern, constructive, active, unmelancholy form of allegory, namely the ability to connect dissimilars in such a way as to “shock” people into new recognitions and understandings.”²⁷³ While I appreciate Ulmer and Benjamin’s positions and innovations with montage allegory, I assert that allegory in any form is capable of “shock” and expression of foundational beliefs. Bunyan’s work demonstrates his foundational, nonconformist disdain for clerical leadership that ultimately “shocked” leaders and resulted in a twelve-year prison term. *The Pilgrim’s Progress* depicts the potentially “shocking” struggle of Christian pilgrims as they venture through the Valley of Humiliation and Doubting Castle (home of Giant Despair). In the fictional story, Bunyan communicates foundational Christian doctrine regarding perseverance, suffering, and hopefulness.

²⁷¹ de Man, 226.

²⁷² Ulmer, 110.

²⁷³ Ibid., 109.

When performed well, allegory communicates clear, often didactic principles within an alternate intellectual world. Quintilian, a first-century theorist of rhetoric and education, encouraged writers to transform their memories into dreamlike “visions (visiones) or fantasies (phantasmatae).”²⁷⁴ For Quintilian, dreaming is a form of acting: “When the mind is occupied or is absorbed by fantastic hopes or daydreams (somnia), we are haunted by these visions of which I am speaking to such an extent that we are traveling abroad, crossing the sea, fighting, addressing the people, or enjoying the use of wealth that we do not actually possess, and seem to ourselves not to be dreaming but acting.”²⁷⁵ Furthermore, Quintilian understood the didactic and religious power of turning “this form of hallucination to some profit.”²⁷⁶

Bunyan and Lewis (by replication) harness the power of dreams. Both plots center on the narrator’s dream. In Bunyan’s apology to the reader, he asks, “Would’st thou be in a Dream, and yet not sleep?”²⁷⁷ In the opening paragraph of *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, Bunyan establishes his dream world:

As I walk’d through the wilderness of this world, I lighted on a certain place,
where a Denn; And I laid me down in that place ot sleep: And as I slept I
dreamed a Dream. I dreamed, and behold I saw a Man cloathed with Raggs,

²⁷⁴ Enders, 451.

²⁷⁵ Ibid.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., 456.

²⁷⁷ Bunyan, *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, 10.

standing in a certain place, with his face from his own House, a Book in his hand, and a great burden upon his back.²⁷⁸

Throughout the story, Bunyan's narrator reminds the reader of the story's dream-based setting by saying various forms of "Then I saw in my Dream."²⁷⁹ The dream mediates the fictional story, which is a mediation of Bunyan's real-life spiritual journey.

In his re-mediation of Bunyan's story, Lewis employs the dream narrative to move the reader. Some of Lewis's favorite books—*Phantastes*, *Piers Plowman* and *The Romance of the Rose*—are also written as dream narratives.²⁸⁰ In the first book of *The Pilgrim's Regress*, entitled "The Rules," Lewis writes, "I dreamed of a boy who was born in the land of Puritania and his name was John. And I dreamed that when John was able to walk he ran out of his parents' garden on a fine morning on to the road."²⁸¹ Throughout the book, Lewis reminds the reader of his narrator's dream state. In one example, Lewis writes, "Then I turned over in my sleep and began to dream deeper still."²⁸² Additionally, Lewis's dream comes to a pleasant end. Towards the end of the last book he writes, "My dream was full of light and noise."²⁸³ Both dream narratives serve as mediation technology. The dream world is a place, which creates great abstraction and separates personal from ideological.

²⁷⁸ Ibid., 11.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., 25.

²⁸⁰ Lewis, *The Pilgrim's Regress*, 7.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Ibid., 16.

²⁸³ Ibid., 202.

Additionally, dream narratives “move” through story-telling, or oral traditions and cultures. As a result, Bunyan’s allegorical dream appealed to missionaries and colonists in Africa. Isabel Hofmeyr describes the influence of Bunyan’s dream narrative in African culture. In one reported incident, a resident, only known as Bayolo, from the Loma region of the Upper Congo, fell ill and died. During the funeral services, Bayolo began twitching and “returned to life.”²⁸⁴ Bayolo “reported his experiences to amazed audiences. In his trance, he had travelled to the gates of heaven. There, two men stood and asked him for his ‘road book’. He did not have one. ‘Return and get your road book,’ they said, ‘confess your sins, remove your camwood powder and make yourself clean.’”²⁸⁵ Bayolo asked to be taken to a church, where he converted to Christianity. As a result, missionaries report that hundreds decided to join the church following this event.²⁸⁶ Bunyan and Bayolo’s dreams blend fantastic and realistic worlds. Like Quintilian encourages, Bunyan’s dreaming becomes acting. Bunyan’s allegory “moves” people both in the theatre and in prose form. And the profit of this allegorical technology is conversion.

In November of 2016, I was privileged to attend a Folger Library Symposium, entitled “Early Modern Theatre and Conversion.” During discussion, I was inspired to think about Spiritual conversion as a transformative performance, which requires life-long spiritual acts. Before conversion, prospective converts intimately interact with doctrine or scriptures to discover the possibilities of conversion. During conversion,

²⁸⁴ Hofmeyr, 443.

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

²⁸⁶ Ibid.

converts perform the act of repentance and commit to faith; sometimes performed through baptism. Afterwards, converts struggle with doubt and face both involuntary (imprisonment) and voluntary opportunities to affirm their conversion, or faith.

Bunyan and Lewis both use scriptural references to influence the reader's imaginative and intellectual journey. However, Lewis employs many sophisticated literary and philosophical references that hinder the story's applicability. In contrast, Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress* provides the reader with a scriptural roadmap for conversion. Bunyan's "move" allows his readers to join Christian on their own spiritual pilgrimage, or use Christian to evangelize others. Bunyan maps out a universal script for Christian conversion, while simultaneously appealing to the intimate, individual needs (or shortcomings) of his readers. He introduces a broad selection of scriptural references in order to encourage the reader to gain greater familiarity with biblical texts before, during, and after conversion. In the Church of England, the hierarchy of church leadership and educated priests maintained the responsibility to interpret and teach the layman the meaning of scripture. Bunyan and his Baptist community encouraged everyone, even prisoners, to read and understand the scriptures for themselves. In 1675, when Bunyan wrote the story in prison, the King James Bible contained 66 total books. *The Pilgrim's Progress* (Part I and II) references the Bible 98 times from 30 different biblical books. More specifically, Bunyan references the Old Testament (Hebrew Bible) 54 times and the New Testament 44 times. Of the New Testament references, 16 are gospel references to Jesus. The reader would not only enjoy this adventurous and

allegorical story, but more purposefully, would have the opportunity to familiarize himself, or herself with a significant breadth of scripture.

In “The Burden of Interpretation in *The Pilgrim’s Progress*,” Dayton Haskin references multiple sources of origin for the convert’s spiritual discovery. First, Haskin references Paul’s advice to the Corinthians, “Examine yourselves, whether ye be in the faith.”²⁸⁷ Haskin credits Bunyan with assisting readers in this process, “It was the great achievement of Bunyan’s book to acknowledge how burdensome the duty of searching the scriptures had become, to treat Bible-reading imaginatively, and ultimately to offer release from an onerous reverence for the book.”²⁸⁸ In Arthur Dent’s 1601 publication of *The Plain Man’s Pathway to Heaven*, the protagonist, Theologus, reiterates the practice of searching the scriptures, “Our Lord foreseeing the great danger of ignorance (how thereby thousands are carried headlong into Hell) doth admonish all men to search the Scriptures, which do testifie of him...Oh therefore that men would earnestly seeke after the knowledge of God in time; and (as the Prophet saith) Seek the Lord, whilst he may be found: call upon him whilst he is neere!”²⁸⁹ Additionally, Haskin refers to John Milton’s *Areopagitica* and Milton’s emphasis on personal spiritual responsibility. Milton claims, “A man may be a heretick in the truth; and if he believe things only because his Pastor says so, or the Assembly so determines, without knowing other reason,

²⁸⁷ Corinthians 13: 5

²⁸⁸ Dayton Haskin, “The Burden of Interpretation in ‘The Pilgrim’s Progress,’” *Studies in Philology* 79.3 (1982), 257.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 262.

though his belief be true, yet the very truth he holds, becomes his heresie.”²⁹⁰

Furthermore, Milton asserts, “There is not any burden that som would gladlier post off to another, then the charge and care of their Religion.”²⁹¹ Similarly, in *De Doctrina Christiana*, Milton writes, “I decided not to depend upon the belief or judgment of others in religious questions...for this reason: God has revealed the way of eternal salvation only to the individual faith of each man, and demands of us that any man who wishes to be saved should work out his beliefs for himself.”²⁹² Bunyan and Lewis invite the reader to work out their faith. This is the first act of the conversion performance.

The second and most significant act of the performance is the conversion “moment,” in which a convert repents of sin and commits to faith in God. In this “moment,” conversion and belief in Christ requires full transformation. In scripture, Jesus proclaims, “If anyone desires to come after Me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow Me. For whoever desires to save his life will lose it, but whoever loses his life for My sake will save it.”²⁹³ The convert exchanges his old life, for a new, Christ-filled life. In a 1553 edition of *The Book of Common Prayer*, a document entitled “Of the Administration of Public Baptism to be used in the Church” describes the public display of the spiritual transformation of conversion during the sacrament of baptism:

²⁹⁰ Ibid., 263.

²⁹¹ Ibid.

²⁹² Ibid., 265.

²⁹³ Luke 9: 23-24

Dear beloved, forasmuch as all men be conceived and born in sin, and that no man born in sin can enter into the kingdom of God (except he be regenerate and born anew of water and the Holy Ghost;) I beseech you to call upon God the Father through our Lord Jesus Christ, that of his bounteous mercy he will grant to these children that thing which by nature they cannot have, that is to say, they may be baptized with the Holy Ghost, and received into Christ's holy church, and be made lively members of the same.²⁹⁴

In order to receive God's "bounteous mercy," a convert must fully repent of sins. In the early fourteenth century, Geoffrey Chaucer outlined the penitential process in the "Parson's Prologue" of *The Canterbury Tales*. Chaucer defines penitence through the perspective of the Saints. Saint Ambrose claims, "penitence is the pleyntyng of man for gilt that he hath doon and namore to do anything for which hym oghte to pleyne."²⁹⁵ Saint Augustan emphasized the everyday penitence of "goode and humble folk."²⁹⁶ Saint John Chrysostom established the three "thynges" of penitence: "contricioun of herte, confession of mouth, and satisfaccioun."²⁹⁷ Chaucer likens the three acts to a tree, "The roote of this tree is contricioun, that hideth hym in the herte of hym that is verray repentaunt, right as the toote of a tree hydeth hym in the erthe. Of the roote of

²⁹⁴ Joseph Ketley, "The Form of Solemnization of Matrimony," *The Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments and Other Rites and Ceremonies in the Church of England, Whitechurch, 1549. The Two Liturgies with Other Documents Set Forth by Authority In the Reign of King Edward the Sixth* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1844), 107.

²⁹⁵ Geoffrey Chaucer and Ed. Robert Boenig, "The Parson's Prologue" in *The Canterbury Tales* (Buffalo: Broadview Press, 2008), 396.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Ibid.

contricioun spryngeth a stalke that bereth braunches and leues of confessioun and fruyt of satisfaccioun.”²⁹⁸

The root of the penitential tree, or contrition of heart is “the verray sorwe that a man receyveth in his herte for his synnes with sad purpose to shryve hym and to do penaunce and nevere moore to do synne.”²⁹⁹ The sinner must internally recognize his or her sin. Saint Bernard describes this act as “hevy and grievous and ful sharpe and poynaunt in herte.”³⁰⁰ Contrition is transformative, and, therefore, a sinner should not delight in sin as a dog returning to vomit, “And yet be ye fouler, for youre longe continuyng in synne and youre sinful usage for which ye be roten in youre synne as a beest in his dong.”³⁰¹ Contrition must be “universal and total” where the penitent “shal be verray repentaunt for alle his synnes,” perceive “synne agayns the lawe of God,” and refrain from “fould delit or talent...”³⁰² Like David, the penitent must “hateth wickednesse.”³⁰³ With significant theological depth, Chaucer and Saint Gregory encourage sinners to avoid measuring sinful acts against good works, “whan we doon deedly synne it is for noght thane to rehercen or drawen into memorie the goode werkes that we han wrought biforn.”³⁰⁴ The act of contrition is the most private portion of Chaucer’s penitential process. While public or social situations may bring sin to the

²⁹⁸ Ibid., 397.

²⁹⁹ Ibid., 398.

³⁰⁰ Ibid.

³⁰¹ Ibid.

³⁰² Ibid., 406.

³⁰³ Ibid.

³⁰⁴ Ibid., 403.

surface, the penitent person must internalize sinful behavior and acknowledge the need for holy cleansing.

In the “Hooly Chirche,” the clergy continues the cleansing process through confession, or the “shewyng of synnes to the preest.”³⁰⁵ The penitent must “confessen hym of all the condiciouns that bilongen to his synne as ferforth as he kan” with “nothing excused, ne hyd, ne forwrapped, and noght avaunte thee of thy goode werkes.”³⁰⁶ Futhermore, the penitent must have understanding when “synnes spryngen and how they encreesen.” Chaucer separates sin into two majore categories: venial and deadly, or “cheifteynes of synnes.”³⁰⁷ The treatise identifies seven deadly sins, with pride as the “general roote” of them all. Chaucer describes pride, anger, envy, sloth, greed, gluttony, lust, and outlines “remedies” or methods to overcome their grip. The antonym of pride, “humylitee,” is the catalyst for confession. Humility shall be “in herte and in signe outward, for right as he hath humylitee to God in his herte, right so sholde he humble his body outward to the preest that sit in Goddes place.”³⁰⁸ The priest serves as “mediatour bitwixe Crist and the synnere,” and the sinner should humble himself to “knele beforn hym or at his feet.”³⁰⁹ Additionally, the penitent must confess all sins to one man, and not break them up, “thou shalt shryve thee of all thy synnes to o man and nat a parcel to o man and a parcel to another.”

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 408.

³⁰⁶ Ibid.

³⁰⁷ Ibid., 412.

³⁰⁸ Ibid., 448.

³⁰⁹ Ibid.

The third act of penitence, satisfaction, is the fruitful and humble offering of “almesse and bodily peyne.”³¹⁰ In the performance of alms, the repentant sinner may offer himself or herself to God, his or her neighbor, or wherever there is a need.³¹¹ Some of those human needs include food, clothing, and shelter, or “herberwe.” The penitent may visit prison or wherever charitable counsel is needed.³¹² The alms shall be “hastily and prively.” If it is not possible to accomplish these acts privately, it is critical, that these acts are “nat doon for thank of the world but oonly for thank of Jhesu Crist.”³¹³ Bodily “peynes,” including fasting, shall be performed to “waketh and preyeth that ye ne entre in wikked temptacioun.”³¹⁴ Furthermore, the act of “peynes” must be completed with a “gladness of herte espritueel” and not “angry ne anyoed ne grucche.”³¹⁵ Ultimately, as Chaucer’s repentant sinner navigates and performs the acts of penitence, he or she should understand that “Jhesu Crist is more strong for to unbynde than synne is strong for to bynde.”³¹⁶ Saint Augustine’s “everyday” attitude towards repentance captures the merciful essence of the penitential process. According to Chaucer, despite man’s struggle with sin, “Crist is alwaey redy to receiven hym to mercy.”³¹⁷

Bunyan and nonconformist Christians challenged the rights of the clergy and encouraged the priesthood of all believers. Therefore, Bunyan’s performance of repentance does not include the second and third step (confession to a priest and

³¹⁰ Ibid., 451.

³¹¹ Ibid.

³¹² Ibid.

³¹³ Ibid.

³¹⁴ Ibid., 452.

³¹⁵ Ibid.

³¹⁶ Ibid., 453.

³¹⁷ Ibid.

satisfaction) of Chaucer's high church, Anglican guide. However, regardless of denominational or doctrinal exceptions, the guide demonstrates the literary origins of repentance as performed in the conversion process.

In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Bunyan describes Christian's contrition of sins and conversion transformation. Christian approaches *Salvation* wall with a great burden on his back.³¹⁸ Christian merely sees the *Cross* and his burden "loosed from off his Shoulders, and fell from off his back."³¹⁹ With a "merry heart," Christian proclaimed, "He hath given me rest, by his sorrow; and life, by his death."³²⁰ Christian continues to look at the cross and begins to weep. Next, he is approached by three "shining ones" who saluted him and declared, "Peace be to thee" and "Thy sins be forgiven."³²¹ One of them stripped Christian of his rags and "cloathed him with change of Raiment."³²² Another member set "a mark in his fore-head, and gave him a Roll with a Seal upon it, which he bid him look on as he ran, and that he should give it in at the Celestial Gate."³²³ Christian, with the assistance of spiritual forces, completes his conversion performance. In doing so, Christian and Bunyan encourage readers to "loose" their own burdens and convert.

In *The Pilgrim's Regress*, John's conversion "moment" models the baptismal experience. John prepares for the transformation as, in accordance with scripture, he

³¹⁸ Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 32.

³¹⁹ Ibid.

³²⁰ Ibid.

³²¹ Ibid., 33.

³²² Ibid.

³²³ Ibid.

claims, “I have come to give myself up.”³²⁴ Mother Kirk, who represents the Christian church, recognizes John’s exceptional journey, “You have come a long way round to reach this place, whither I would have carried you in a few moments.”³²⁵ Unlike Bunyan, Lewis took the long road, in which he progressed through “popular realism to Philosophical Idealism; from Idealism to Pantheism; from Panthism to Theism; and from Theism to Christianity.”³²⁶ At the final stage of John’s transformation, Mother Kirk encourages him, “You must take off your rags...as your friend has done already, and then you must dive into this water.”³²⁷ Here, Lewis echoes George MacDonald’s image of baptism and surrender in the short story “The Golden Key,” in which he writes, “You must throw yourself in. There is no other way.”³²⁸ The act of diving into the water required John “to abandon all efforts at self-preservation.”³²⁹ Prior to jumping, John experiences brief doubt in the form of visions of the personified characters: old Enlightenment, Media Halfways, old Halfways, young Halfways, Sigmund, Sensible, Humanist and Broad.³³⁰ Finally, Vertue speaks up and John jumps:

“Come on, John,” he said, “the longer we look at it the less we shall like it.” And with that he took a header into the pool and they saw him no more. And how John managed it or what he felt I did not know, but he also rubbed his hands,

³²⁴ Lewis, *The Pilgrim’s Regress*, 172.

³²⁵ Ibid.

³²⁶ Ibid., 207.

³²⁷ Ibid., 172.

³²⁸ Ibid., 279.

³²⁹ Ibid., 172.

³³⁰ Ibid., 173.

shut his eyes, despaired, and let himself go. It was not a good dive, but, at least, he reached the water head first.³³¹

In the water, John died “many deaths.”³³² John and Vertue surface in the green forest “not long after that the light and colour, as with the sound of a trumpet, rushed back.”³³³ Their ears “were full of the sounds of bird and the rustle of leaves” and they were “received into a great company of other pilgrims.”³³⁴ John and Vertue perform a dramatic transformation. Once converted, John realizes that the “island” is actually part of the mountains and is not his final destination, but the starting place for his *regress*. They depart for a return trip with a renewed vision, and see the “land as it really is...long but very narrow.”³³⁵ The conversion “moment” is powerful, but as pilgrims progress in faith, they face continued adversity and spiritual attacks.

This leads us to the third and final act of the conversion performance, living as converts. Afterwards, converts struggle with self-imposed challenges (doubt and pride) and outside challenges (imprisonment and martyrdom) to their conversion, or faith. This adversity provides the convert an opportunity to affirm or recant their conversion. Bunyan and Lewis experienced tremendous spiritual doubts as previously mentioned in the biographical chapter. In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Bunyan represents his doubts in Christian's interactions with Giant Despair at Doubting-Castle. Christian is enticed to

³³¹ Ibid., 174.

³³² Ibid.

³³³ Ibid., 175.

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ Ibid., 188.

follow a route “on the other side of the fence” with “the easiest going.”³³⁶ As a result they are captured and must endure imprisonment. Despite Christian’s earlier conversion, he is successfully pulled off the narrow way. Later, Christian and Hopeful discuss the ways in which a convert may experience “suddain backsliding.”³³⁷ Christian describes the vulnerability of some recent converts:

They are but like the Fellon that standeth before the Judge, he quakes and trembles, and seems to repent most heartily; but the bottom of all is, the fear of the Halter, not of any detestation of the offence; as is evident, because, let but this man have his liberty, and he will be a Thief, and so a Rogue still; whereas, if his mind was changed, he would be otherwise.³³⁸

Hopeful identifies four reasons for the slow chilling of faith. First, he claims, “Though the Consciences of such men are awakened, yet their minds are not changed; therefore when the power of guilt weareth away, that which provoked them to be Religious, ceaseth.”³³⁹ Second, he claims that converts suffer from fear of men and unnecessary troubles, and “so they fall in with the world again.”³⁴⁰ Thirdly, religion requires humility and men are “proud and haughty.” Therefore, when “when they have lost their sense of Hell and wrath to come, they return again to their former course.”³⁴¹ Finally,

³³⁶ Bunayn, *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, 87.

³³⁷ Ibid., 117.

³³⁸ Ibid., 118.

³³⁹ Ibid., 117.

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴¹ Ibid.

Hopeful suggests, they may harden their hearts to the initial guilt and “terrors” that led to their conversion.³⁴²

Similarly, in *The Pilgrim’s Regress*, Lewis describes converts’ complex struggles with pride and self-righteousness. On the *regress*, or return trip, Vertue sings:

So should I quickly die
Narcissu-like of want,
But, in the glass, my eye
Catches such forms as haunt
Beyond nightmare, and make
Pride humble for pride’s sake.³⁴³

Vertue continues to affirm his conversion by fighting the temptation to love his reflection. In the opposite manner, Vertue must also fight against the tendency to self-righteously ignore his reflection as a testament of his own strength (instead of God’s).

While internal temptations work to derail a convert, outside forces can be even more intimidating. Converts often find themselves imprisoned or killed for their beliefs. Bunyan himself spent 12 years in prison for preaching as a nonconformist. The most famous of all Christian prisoners and martyrs, Paul, wrote biblical letters while imprisoned. His conversion story and status in the Christian community is strengthened by his perseverance in the face of suffering. In *The Pilgrim’s Regress*, the Giant Slayer (also referred to as the Spirit of the Age) imprisons John, but his captivity occurs as a

³⁴² Ibid., 118.

³⁴³ Lewis, *The Pilgrim’s Regress*, 190.

result of his own sinful nature before conversion. In *The Pilgrim's Progress*, Christian and Hopeful are imprisoned (after conversion) by Giant Despair at Doubting-Castle “without one bit of bread, or drop of drink, or any light, or any to ask how they did...far from friends and acquaintance.”³⁴⁴ There they were beaten like “dogs” and encouraged to commit suicide. At the moment of most despair, Hopeful encourages Christian to remain patient with faith:

Thou seest that I am in the Dungeon with thee, a far weaker man by nature than thou art: Also this Giant has wounded me as well as thee; and hath also cut off the Bread and Water from my mouth; and with thee I mourn without the light: but let's exercise a little more patience. Remember how thou playedst the man at Vanity-Fair, and wast neither afraid of the Chain nor Cage; nor yet of bloody Death; where fore let us (at least to avoid the shame, that becomes not a Christian to be found in) bear up with patience as well as we can.³⁴⁵

Hopeful and Christian eventually escape from captivity and erect a “pillar” with a warning to other travelers such that “many therefore that followed after, read what was written, and escaped the danger.”³⁴⁶ Christian and Hopeful affirm their faith in captivity and, by extension, commit another act of conversion performance. In *Seasonable Counsel*, Bunyan captures this performative aspect of suffering as he writes, “A man

³⁴⁴ Bunyan, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, 89.

³⁴⁵ Ibid., 91.

³⁴⁶ Ibid., 92.

when he suffereth for Christ, is set upon a *Hill*, upon a *Stage*, as in a *Theatre*, to play a part for God in the world.”³⁴⁷

Finally, martyrdom, or faith in the face of death is the ultimate act of conversional affirmation. In *The Pilgrim’s Progress*, Faithful is put to death after rebuking the community at Vanity Fair for ungodly dealings. Before his death Faithful proclaims, “That what Rule, or Laws, or Custom, or People, were flat against the Word of God, are diametrically opposite to Christianity.”³⁴⁸ A jury sentences Faithful to death, in which he is scourged, buffeted, lanced with knives, stoned, “prickt” with swords, and burned to “Ashes at the Stake.”³⁴⁹ At the moment of his death, Faithful was “taken up into” a chariot and “straightway was carried up through the Clouds, with sound of Trumpet, the nearest way to the Celestial Gate.”³⁵⁰ As the “nearest way” to Heaven, Bunyan glorifies this act of sacrifice and encourages evangelical readers to remain strong in their faith, even to death. In the final act of conversion, the believer may have to affirm their faith at the hour of their death.

Conversion is a life-long performance. The performance starts prior to the “moment” of conversion as the convert determines what it is they believe, and continues through trials, tribulations, or successes in which they can affirm or recant their faith. Additionally, allegory, as a literary form, encourages performance. Bunyan and Lewis map the performance of conversion in allegorical prose and encourage the reader to “do

³⁴⁷ John Bunyan, *Seasonable Counsel, The Miscellaneous Works of John Bunyan*, ed. Owen C. Watkins (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 62.

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 75.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 76,

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 77.

something.” Lewis’s fictional story suffered from some obscurity because of its close relationship to his own personal conversion. Bunyan, however, became a transnational actor in the mission field as a result of his allegorical and conversional appeal.

To close this chapter, I would like to illuminate how *The Pilgrim’s Progress* “did something” on mission. As mentioned previously, the story has been translated into 200 languages, including 80 African languages.³⁵¹ In Africa, Bunyan’s work embedded in “existing understandings of the sacred,” and “allowed a new form of communication to be harnessed to speak to existing spiritual and ancestral worlds.”³⁵² Missionaries employed Bunyan to convert Africans by harnessing the work’s “ambiguous possibilities...as a near-Bible” that is “both secular and sacred; serious and pleasurable; fictional yet also ‘true.’”³⁵³ The book is relatively easy to translate and “episodic.”³⁵⁴ Additionally, it can be translated serially as “freestanding installments,” and its vague and biblical orientation “presents few impediment to translation.”³⁵⁵ Bunyan’s story offered African Christians “a number of opportunities for experimentation...in the arena of allegorical possibility,” in which converts “could ‘try on’ different character and plot lines.”³⁵⁶ In a postcard version of the story, readers could shuffle the cards and rearrange

³⁵¹ Isabel Hofemyr, *The Portable Bunyan: A Transnational History of The Pilgrim’s Progress* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 2004), 12.

³⁵² Ibid., 17.

³⁵³ Ibid., 18.

³⁵⁴ Ibid.

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

³⁵⁶ Ibid.

the plot.³⁵⁷ Additionally, plot rearrangement “accords closely with how story episodes behave in certain African oral traditions.”³⁵⁸

Furthermore, the story shared significant plot similarities to some “commonplace” traditional African narratives in which “a man with a bag on his back travel[s] from this world to the next.”³⁵⁹ Hofmeyr describes one such Kongo narrative:

Featuring a trickster protagonist who is some variations is called Moni-Mambu, the one with affairs and concerns on his back, the narratives follow a pattern whereby the protagonist sets off from this world to the next. There he has a series of encounters with the gods and ancestors, and using his wit and objects stored in his bag, he is able to bring back some desired items, such as ideas, solutions to problems, hunting luck, or treasures.³⁶⁰

Interestingly, the protagonist moves “from this world to the next and back again.”³⁶¹ As a result, Bunyan’s story while incredibly relatable would appear incomplete. Lewis’s story, in which John regresses back to his home, matches Bakongo patterns, but is filled with sophisticated language that presents challenges for translation.

As discussed in the previous chapter, illustrations strengthened Bunyan’s allegorical reach. The illustrations became a “crucial site of imaginative entry into the text” for many readers, and, for some, “the illustrations were the story.”³⁶² Illustrations

³⁵⁷ Ibid., 29.

³⁵⁸ Ibid.

³⁵⁹ Ibid.

³⁶⁰ Ibid.

³⁶¹ Ibid.

³⁶² Ibid., 60.

made the story less foreign to non-English readers. Upon seeing an illustration in a Japanese version of the story, one reader claimed, “Apollyon gives a truly Japanese conception of that great enemy.”³⁶³

In conclusion, Bunyan’s *The Pilgrim’s Progress* and Lewis’s *The Pilgrim’s Regress* encourage the reader to “do something.” First, both authors employ the “technology” of allegory, which mediates human interaction and inherently encourages performance. Next, Bunyan and Lewis demonstrate the performance of conversion, which includes various, sometimes life-long, spiritual acts. Like actors performing “method” acting, Bunyan and Lewis understand readers’ spiritual “wants” and recommend specific ways to reconcile human sin through conversion. In both stories, readers are encouraged to engage with scriptures and to “take charge and care of their religion.”³⁶⁴ Readers, both English and non-English, journey alongside fictional pilgrims and learn the transformative story of conversion. Like Muffie’s dance performance, these stories provide the audience with a mediated lens in which to view reality. For Bunyan and Lewis, the imaginative technology of allegory “moves.”

³⁶³ Ibid., 69.

³⁶⁴ Haskin, 263.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS, OR THE END OF OUR PROGRESS

We have come to the end of our pilgrimage. In this study of *Pilgrim's Progress* and *The Pilgrim's Regress*, I examined three tiers of movement: the authors' movement toward faith, the characters' movement in their respective fictive worlds, and the reader's movement (through the rhetorical power of allegorical conversion narratives).

Furthermore, I unwrapped the authors' complex use of the terms *progress* and *regress*. In both works, progress symbolizes physical and philosophical movement forward. Both Bunyan and Lewis recognized the historical tradition of the *royal* progress. In particular, Bunyan's audiences would have been familiar with the extravagant progresses of Elizabeth I, Charles I, and Charles II. However, Bunyan's story outlines a far less luxurious spiritual progress, available to everyman, regardless of social status. Lewis wisely refutes the concept of "mass progress" and asserts that progress and regress occur simultaneously. Furthermore, Lewis encourages readers to value regress. He warns readers against "chronological snobbery" or the tendency to view the past as a mere artifact. Additionally, Lewis helps us think about regress less as a step back, and more as a revisiting, or "re-enchantment." Ultimately for Lewis, it is better to retrace your steps and return to the proper path than to blindly walk forward.

In Chapter II, we explored both authors' biographical conversion narratives. Although the authors lived more than 200 years apart, they shared some remarkable life experiences. They both suffered through the unexpected loss of mothers and wives.

Additionally, they both served in an army during wartime. Despite sharing many of the same losses and struggles, their differences shape the unique journey of their fictional protagonists. Bunyan lived in a predominantly Christian community and read mostly theological literature. Lewis left Christianity, encountered atheism, pantheism, and many other philosophies, before returning to the Christian myth. Lewis was incredibly well read and educated. Additionally, Bunyan, the “mechanick” preacher, encouraged a more low-church application of scriptures. As a result of these differences, Bunyan’s story is far less complicated than Lewis’s, but arguably more powerful and more effective for conversion and evangelism.

Furthermore, illustrations and imaginative maps help us visually interpret some of these differences. In Chapter III, we analyzed portions of the illustrative evolution of both works and, in the process, gained some valuable insight into their reception. Bunyan’s story was widely received and illustrated. Bunyan’s exclusively Christian message did not stop illustrators such as William Blake (who had far less interest in promoting an exclusive belief system) from engaging with the text’s imaginative potential. In the mission field, Bunyan’s story travelled in many forms and languages. When looking at Thomas Conder’s map, we can visualize the genius and beauty of Bunyan’s story. Christian moves toward God and encounters many of the same challenges that “everyman” would face in their daily spiritual journey. The story is relatable and effective. When viewing Reginald Knowles’s map, we see that Lewis’s story is, as he admitted, somewhat more obscure and far more complicated. His protagonist, John, moves westward through a multitude of philosophical shires towards

his “re-enchantment” and conversion to Christianity. Along his physical regress eastward, John views the world through a distinctly Christian lens.

Lastly, we considered the rhetorical power of both stories. Conversion narratives are performative and encourage readers to act, or move. Bunyan and Lewis create unique allegories with wide yet intimate application. Bunyan’s story provides a universal script for Christian conversion, while Lewis’s more autobiographical story seems to lose some of its allegorical power. However, both narratives encourage readers to perform conversion, which demands action at every step. First, the convert must consider their spiritual position and engage with scripture. Next, the potential convert must perform the conversion act through repentance and faith. Finally, once converted, an individual faces struggles or opportunities to affirm or recant their faith. In *The Pilgrim’s Progress* and *The Pilgrim’s Regress*, Bunyan and Lewis couple the power of allegory with the performative nature of the conversion process to create works that “move” the readers.

To close, I am hopeful that this paper has moved you towards a new, or greater appreciation for Bunyan and Lewis. As we part, I wish you a blessed and joyful journey in your own pilgrimage. As you move forward and *progress* in daily life, I want to leave you with Lewis’s words of encouragement from the preface of *The Great Divorce*:

We are not living in a world where all roads are radii of a circle and where all, if followed long enough, will therefore draw gradually nearer and finally meet at the centre: rather in a world where every road, after a few miles, forks into two, and each of those into two again, and at each fork you must make a decision.

Even on the biological level life is not like a river but like a tree. It does not move towards unity but away from it and the creatures grow further apart as they increase in perfection. Good, as it ripens, becomes continually more different not only from evil but from other good. I do not think that all who choose wrong roads perish; but their rescue consists in being put back on the right road. A sum can be put right: but only by going back till you find the error and working it afresh from that point, never by simply going on.³⁶⁵

³⁶⁵ Lewis, *The Great Divorce*, viii.

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